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United States & Canada

Bush Announces Economic Aid Unfrozen

LD2408163191 Moscow TASS in English 0716 GMT 24 Aug 91

[By Aleksandr Korolyov]

[Text] Washington Aug 23 TASS—U.S. President George Bush has announced that he unfreezes economic aid to the Soviet Union. The decision to freeze economic aid programmes for the USSR was taken by the White House following the coup staged in the USSR. Addressing a press conference in Kennebunkport, Bush said he decided to lift the ban on various economic programmes which will undoubtedly help the Soviet Union.

The president stressed that Soviet-American relations were very important. He added that the only question he wished to ask is whether or not the world today is better than it was 48 hours ago, and the answer will be a definite "yes".

Bush, Fitzwater Cited on Events in Soviet Union

PM2608135791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Aug 91
Union Edition p 5

[By A. Blinov under the general heading "Country Needs Support. IZVESTIYA Correspondents on World Reaction to Events in the USSR"; "G. Bush: Rapid Advance Toward Democracy"]

[Text] Washington—We are observing the "rapid advance toward democracy and the tremendous backing for the reforms which reflects the genuine will of the people," that was how U.S. President G. Bush assessed the reports from the USSR.

The head of the U.S. administration is on vacation in Kennebunkport (Maine), but he is making statements on the "Soviet subject" virtually every day. This is still the main topic of news reports, television and press reports, and, judging by newspaper reports, of the intensive exchange of opinions taking place between leadership circles in the United States and other western countries. One of the matters under discussion, THE WASHINGTON POST reports, is the possibility of expanding western aid to the Soviet Union in connection with the difficulties in the Soviet economy—foreign experts forecast that these difficulties may worsen considerably during the coming winter. In particular, this will be discussed at next week's meeting in Kennebunkport between G. Bush and British Prime Minister J. Major.

There are also plans for a collective discussion of the question of aid for the USSR involving high-ranking G-7 representatives. J. Major, who currently chairs the G-7, submitted the initiative for this meeting.

"There is pressure in favor of granting the Soviet Union additional aid against the backdrop of accusations, denied by the United States and Britain, that the attempted coup might have been avoided had the G-7 been more willing to meet Gorbachev halfway," Saturday's edition of THE WASHINGTON POST reports. This accusation, the newspaper reports, was leveled recently by N. Kinnock, leader of the British opposition. In particular, he said that the "refusal by the world's most prosperous countries to respond to Gorbachev's frequent appeals for an increase in aid played a role in weakening his position."

Journalists covering G. Bush's stay in Kennebunkport asked him to give his view on the possibility of giving the Soviet Union financial aid as well as technical aid, as is now the case. "The U.S. position is well known," the president said. "We want to help. Ultimately, we may find a way of providing monetary aid. However, before that happens we would like to see reforms in the USSR." It is clear from the president's words that people in Washington are waiting to see the results of the current reorganization of the leadership structure in the USSR. "We want to understand with whom we are dealing at the ministries," G. Bush said.

G. Bush described as a "favorable step", USSR President M.S. Gorbachev's decision to divest himself of his responsibilities as General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Presidential Press Secretary M. Fitzwater described this decision in a separate White House statement as "another step forward in the reform process."

Supreme Soviet

Extraordinary Session Reviews Events of 19-21 Aug

Agenda Adopted After 'Heated Debates'

LD2608122591 Moscow TASS in English 1218 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 26 TASS—An extraordinary session of the Soviet parliament has adopted its agenda after heated debates.

The agenda includes the Soviet president's report on the situation in the country, following the coup, debates on convening an extraordinary congress of people's deputies, on immediate measures and legislative acts aimed to eliminate the repetition of events, similar to those that took place between August 18-21.

The parliament is also expected to discuss changes in the Soviet Government and other state bodies, assess the role of the Soviet parliament's leadership and its committees and commissions during the coup and evaluate the need of immediate reorganisation of the Soviet parliament's apparat.

Agenda Approval

LD2608153391 Moscow TASS in English 1512 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 26 TASS—The Soviet parliament today voted in favour of the following agenda of its extraordinary session:

1. On the convocation of the extraordinary, Fifth Congress of Soviet People's Deputies.

2. President Mikhail Gorbachev's report on the situation in the country following the coup d'etat.

3. On the role played by the parliament leadership, committees and commissions, other bodies of state authority of the USSR and socio-political organisations in the events that began on August 18, 1991 and the days that followed.

4. A vote of confidence in the USSR Cabinet of Ministers.

5. On priority measures and regulatory enactments to preclude the possibility of recurrence of events similar to those that occurred from August 18-21, 1991.

6. On creating a parliamentary commission of enquiry of the causes and circumstances of the coup d'etat and recommendations to republican parliaments to set up similar commissions.

7. On the need to promptly reorganise the staff of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The USSR Supreme Soviet envisaged the possibility of incorporating other items on the agenda of its extraordinary session.

[Signed] The USSR Supreme Soviet

Moscow, Kremlin

26 August 1991

Gorbachev Address

LD2608143691 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0946 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Speech by USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev to the USSR Supreme Soviet in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed members of the Supreme Soviet! First of all, I support the decision adopted by the Supreme Soviet on the immediate convocation of an extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR. Because the problem itself and everything which we have gone through at this time, over these days, and the decisions that have to be made, all of that is essentially the prerogative of the congress. This is the first thing.

I am submitting for your proposal... [corrects himself] examination of the proposal to invite to this congress deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation and representatives of the parliaments of other republics. In the days that remain until the congress, I would ask people's deputies in their commissions and committees as well as in their factions and at their sessions in the chambers—this is a matter for you to decide—to discuss in a comprehensive way and consider everything that has happened to us, why this happened to us, and what lessons must be drawn from this.

It is not a matter of philosophizing on this subject, but of specific political and practical actions and decisions which were based on, and rested upon, a precise and uncompromising analysis of everything we have gone through.

It is natural that during these days prior to the congress you and I will not be sitting idly by. Strictly speaking, we are already acting. What I am referring to is the submission to the Supreme Soviet of the issue of confidence in the Cabinet of Ministers which during these days did not fulfill its constitutional rule, and some of its members turned to be direct participants in this coup.

A decree on the departyization of the army and the law enforcement bodies and other state services has been adopted. The main figures in the army, the KGB, and the Internal Affairs Ministry who actively assisted the conspirators in the implementation of their plans have been removed from their posts. New people have been appointed to the key posts in these bodies. The USSR and Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] procuracies are jointly investigating the actions of the coup's organizers.

You are acquainted with my statement in which I relinquished my duties as general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and proposed that the party Central

Committee should dissolve itself. It is natural that measures of a similar kind, called upon to stabilize the situation in the country and to prevent an explosion of revanchism, will continue to be implemented before the congress, and this line will be firmly pursued.

In my speech—and that is what this is for, a report will clearly need much further thought and we shall have to consult together—I do want to say someting about certain main factors that are plain to see.

Esteemed comrade people's deputies! The coup did not come unexpectedly like thunder on a clear day. It was heralded by the hysterical speeches of right wingers in our press, at the plenums of the Central Committee, and in the provocatory statements by some generals, including those from the rostrum of the Congress of People's Deputies, and by the overt sabotage of many decisions of perestroyka by party and state structures. In a word, the plot was ripe. There were more than enough grounds for the adoption of urgent measures to defend the constitutional system. That, however, was not done, although attention was paid, assessments were made, and rebuttals were given in various forums, including in the press, at the plenums, and here in the Supreme Soviet. Nevertheless, instead of decisive actions, there was liberalism and indulgence—and that applies to myself in the first place.

Well, that is a lesson of the first sort, so to speak. There is a more important cause that made possible the attack on democracy and the attempt to plunge the country back into totalitarianism by force: indecision and inconsistency in carrying out democratic reforms, especially in those structures where the coup was maturing. And here not only I, but all of us in the USSR Supreme Soviet and the leading organs of the party and government are guilty.

Our good intentions and our quite well formulated aims and plans have largely remained unfulfilled, because the former mechanism of power has not been changed in a fundamental way. I have in mind the state apparatus, which has been preserved unchanged in principle, and which has grown together with the party structures, and tolerance toward, those workers, including those who have occupied leading posts, who have remained loyal to Stalinism, and all that is connected with this—at least to post-Stalinism. We vacillated for a long time and we have not yet gone over in a real way to decisive democratic economic reforms.

This has had an effect on the country's socioeconomic situation. It is no secret that the conspirators wished to take advantage of the difficulties in the life of the whole population. All of this is our reality—the people are bearing great burdens in that the standard of living has gone down, there is no personal security, and criminal elements have been going around at will—to this day in many places they are having a field day.

The reason for what has happened also lies in the fact that there was no accord and coordination in the actions of democratic and truly perestroyka-minded forces of whatever hue. We—and those who were essentially adherents of the same aim—were divided and where possible were made to stand on different sides of the political barricades. I, both here and at plenums and on other occasions, said that the biggest gift to those opposing the new course and the reforms in our country would be if we who adhere, to democracy and the democratic stream were to clash head to head or in dirty political struggles. But political wisdom and responsibility for the common good of us all were of insufficient effect—in this case I am referring to the democrats.

The armed forces were without proper constitutional supervision. I want to give a special mention to the army. Yes, the plotters have not managed to follow through to the end their criminal plan to throw the army against their own people.

The conspirators made two major miscalculations. They thought that our people can be manipulated like a herd—pardon this word, but it reflects their view, I think—and can be driven in any direction.

The country has now changed. That was their main miscalculation. Since the country and the people have changed, the army has changed, too, because it is part of the people.

They even wanted to use the army, even the forces which have been trained for emergencies. But they were trained for a different kind of emergency, namely, for the protection of the political system, for security, and for combatting terrorism. The people refused to follow them, being ready to face a tribunal and execution by firing squad. I am talking about special units.

People refused to fulfill the demands, even though they wanted to use everything, including the air force. You know yourselves what that means.

Given all the weapons they are equipped with, three aircraft would be sufficient to sweep everything away, to decapitate everything left, right, and center. And the paratroopers refused to fulfill their orders and move against the people. Even all those who were brought out into the streets refused to make a move against the people. This is one of the main reasons why the coup has failed. But nevertheless, the fact is that it became possible to bring enormous numbers of troops, tanks, and other armored equipment into the streets of Moscow and Leningrad without any sanction from the supreme legislative body of the country.

This fact is clear. This means that there is something wrong in our mechanism. The patently necessary reorganization of the State Security Committee was not carried out.

Of course, officials of the State Security Committee ensure guarding the border, and defend the interests of the state by means of the intelligence service and counterintelligence service. This is in fact what the committee must do.

However, at the same time, even in conditions of profound democratic reforms in society, it still remained, in places, essentially a mechanism for political struggle.

I, as president, bear a great responsibility for this. In fact, I bear the greatest share of responsibility for the fact that the mechanism of the Supreme Soviet failed, that many members of the Cabinet of Ministers proved to be disgracefully helpless and faint-hearted in the face of the conspiracy, and that the three organizations that comprise the armed forces were headed by people capable of embarking on a coup d'etat.

I say that because I have interpreted many things in a new way and have changed my mind about a great deal over the past few days. I have drawn conclusions from the entire tragedy that befell us.

People are saying that I came back to another country. I agree with this. I may add to this that a man returned from the Crimea to this different country who looks at everything—the past, the present, and the future—with different eyes. In any case, I will not permit any vacillations or temporizing in carrying out the reforms while I am still president. There will, from now on, be no compromises with those with whom it is impossible and impermissible to seek agreement. [applause]

Further, I take your applause as a sign that you realize that there are and there have been cases when no compromises should have been made. That is how I take it, although my main wish is that everything that we do should be within the framework of democracy and that no blood should be shed. That probably sustained my position, even in cases when decisive measures were needed to avoid such things, such turning points that might have ended in catastrophe for the whole country. Another factor that imparted such a tortuous character to the reform process and had such a serious effect upon the people's life lies in the delay in eliminating the party's monopoly on power, the party bureacratic structures, which were preserved in many ways from the previous regime. We recall the exhausting struggle waged in the Central Committee plena with those who strove to block democratic transformations in every way. The old system was undermined already, disorganized, but it continued to hold onto everything that it could and hindered forward movement. Speaking of this, I consider it a matter of fundamental importance to separate the millions of ordinary party members from the party bureaucracy. I have been saying from the very outset, as soon as the opportunity to speak about that arose.

It was the belief of the mass of many millions of party members that instilled me with hope for the possibility of its radical reform, its transformation from what, in essence, was a Stalinist organization into a democratic, modern organization. The coup obliterated this hope. Therefore, as I have already said, as you know, I have laid down the obligations of general secretary and have proposed that the Central Committee adopt a decision on self- dissolution.

Nevertheless, despite all these reasons that made the plot possible, it was doomed to failure right from the very outset. The last six years turned out not to have been lived in vain.

The country and the people have changed beyond recognition. Democratic forces have grown up, although as yet they are unorganized. Even though they did not yet fully understood each other at that time, they all—together with the people—still dealt a crushing rebuff to the conspirators. That conclusion is also directly connected with the elucidation of why the conspirators were in such a hurry to implement their plans. I can assert with full conviction that they realized that, for them, delay would have been tantamount to death because such processes as Nine plus One had begun in Novo-Ogarevo. Not only at the plena of the Central Committee and at the Central Committee itself but also in the Supreme Soviet—we will say it frankly—the process has been fully taken aboard, and many questions have been asked. We will and we must now—today, as they say, and in these days—say everything because it is us, it is us, and the country is behind us because such processes have emerged as in Novo-Ogarevo; the imminent signing of the Union treaty; the inevitable transition to the market, which has already begun; and the Seven plus One conference on a world scale, which has made possible the integration of our economy into the world economy. The coup was foiled, crushed. I would like once again to express unbound gratitude to the hundreds of thousands of Muscovites who took to the streets, fearlessly looking into the muzzles of the machine guns and the barrels of the cannons, and defended freedom and legality. In organizing the coup's defeat, an enormous role was played by Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, the Russian parliament, the people of Leningrad and their leaders, the people of Kiev, and the stand taken by the peoples of the other republics. The country did not accept it; they wanted to package their appeal in the most attractive way, addressed to the people, but the country did not accept it; it rejected what they wanted to do in an extremely distressing situation. The people truly want rapid and decisive changes, but not by those means.

Yet, at the same time, the very fact that such a plot was possible bears witness to the fact that we are still only half way there and that we are obliged to take the most urgent and reliable measures to create guarantees of constitutional legality. What should be done further?

First: I think the most important thing is to immediately resume the process of signing the Union treaty. The plotters managed to thwart the intended signing. That was their primary aim. Unfortunately, USSR Supreme Soviet Chairman Lukyanov's statement, which subsequently, as I learned, was read out, broadcast continuously by the mass media, and in which he tried to prove that the treaty was unsuitable and should not be signed, was published alongside the statement of the so-called State Committee for the State of Emergency. The draft treaty represents a balance of interests of all the participants in the Novo-Ogarevo agreement.

Of course, some aspects may be improved, but the main thing is—and I agree with those proposals and the speeches made by the leadership of the Russian Federation, by participants in meetings in Leningrad—that is, the people of Leningrad, the northwest, and in other republics over the past few days—that the treaty must be signed, that the beginning of signing should not be delayed, that it should be improved or supplemented, that a supplement to the treaty should be brought about in the form of a protocol. We will act, thereby, upon the basis of the will of the people expressed in the referendum.

At the meeting with the leaders of the nine republics on 23 August, I think, already on the second day after my return, the opinion prevailed that the signing of the treaty ought to begin, that certain steps which are necessary now should be taken, that this process should not be postponed for long.

I would like to stress that it is a question not of completing but only of beginning deep transformations of our Union.

Second: We have to take a stance regarding those republics that are not going to sign the treaty. They must be given the right to make an independent choice. After the signing of the treaty it is essential to begin businesslike talks immediately with those who want to leave the Union. But preparatory work can be done now. Agreements with them should include essential guarantees on observance of human rights irrespective of nationality. The question of compensation for those citizens who do not want to remain outside the Union and who will move here must be resolved, as must the question of the military infrastructure that must be preserved on the territory of whichever republic has detached itself for a period defined by the agreement. At the same time, bearing in mind the vital interest of all fifteen republics in the preservation of economic links, work has to be started on the conclusion of an economic agreement, and this must be done without any delay, without any delay. [applause]

Third: [applause grows louder] It is essential without delay to resolve a number of issues of governing the country during the period until the new constitution comes into effect. Everything that has happened obliges us to act without waiting for its adoption. Even before elections are held it is necessary to resolve the highly important matter of the election by the forthcoming congress of the country's vice president. We must consult very thoroughly on these matters.

At the meeting with the leaders of the republics on 23 August, the proposal was made to have an authoritative body that could make concerted decisons on all major government issues for the entire Union. I stress: of government.

It was proposed that a presently existing constitutional body such as the Security Council should be used for this. It is necessary to raise the significance of this body both regarding its composition and its jurisdiction. This can be ensured if its membership includes the leaders of the republics that have decided to sign the Union treaty [as well as] Comrades Yakovlev, Bakatin, Primakov, Sobchak, Popov, and Revenko, who today heads the office of the USSR president.

On the basis of an agreement with the republic leaders, the USSR Cabinet of Ministers is to be formed. For the time being, for efficient management, I have decided to form a committee headed by Comrade Silayev. You are familiar with this decree.

Fourth: The conspirators would not have succeeded in implementing their plans if their path had been blocked firmly and decisively by the USSR Supreme Soviet and its chairman.

The events demanded the immediate convocation of the Supreme Soviet. Russia did this immediately and this played a huge role in the opposition to the Putsch. But the Union Supreme Soviet—you were not able to implement your constitutional powers at that moment. Where was the presidium? Where were the deputies themselves? Why did they not rush immediately to the capital? Everything needs to be considered, people need to look to themselves, to think of all the lessons that need to be learned.

And not just morally and politically. There must be some kind of record when such a situation arises without any telegrams, invitations, or announcements. Everybody must be in the capital, on the spot where it is happening. There must be such a record. It is another question whether that is in the Constitution or somewhere else; that is to say, in the law.

I propose in the days remaining before the congress that serious thought be given as to who should be chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. I am prepared to have consultations with everybody, as always, but especially today. I do not think that we today should place a single person without us all having reached agreement—both here and with the republics. That must be done to ensure that we have complete trust, full mutual understanding, and the confidence that these people will handle matters as the situation demands.

Fifth: The situation must be assessed. Reliable constitutional public supervision of the activity of the armed forces and of the law enforcement bodies must be elaborated and established. Deep changes will be demanded here. Everything should be done to ensure that now, immediately, within the framework of work on the law on military reforms, that perhaps this question should even be singled out and resolved and then it will become a component part of the law on military reforms. Obviously, the implementation of reforms directed toward strengthening the professional basis of the military should be stepped up.

The Committee for State Security must be reorganized.

My decree appointing Comrade Bakatin as chairman of the committee contains the second clause—which has not been published—instructing him to immediately present his proposals for reorganizing the entire state security system.

An insurmountable barrier must be raised against even the slightest possibility of using the state security bodies for anticonstitutional ends.

I will sign a decree transferring the KGB troops to the USSR Defense Minstry.

Obviously, it is essential to halt the operation of the law on the KGB and work out a new concept of state security and, on this basis, reform the relevant structures quickly but in a well-thought-out way.

Sixth, on economic measures: The former policy of moving gradually along the reform path must be reconsidered since the country's situation has changed radically. I am formulating such an opinion.

At the forthcoming Congress of Soviets, let us discuss together and work out serious measures on the basic issues of economic policy. Considering the fact that we are now in another age after all these events, we need to get everything done, and I think that now, for my part, it would be rash to set out extensively developed ideas on this subject; nevertheless, I will take the responsibility to say something about it.

Above all, this means the removal of.... [changes thought] I think we should include in our measures the removal of all obstacles and hindrances on the way to a market economy which were artificially created by the old structures and people, such as granting full freedom to enterprises; removal of monopolism, methods of coercion, and dictatorship from above; acceleration of the creation of the basic institutions of a market economy; resolute transfer of the center of economic management—that is, including the responsibility for resolving economic and social problems—to a republican level; while preserving for the Union the task of legislative and economic regulation of a single economic space, to return to the ideas of interrepublican economic committee; a cardinal review of credit and financial policy and the resolute contraction of budget expenses, the budget deficit, strengthening of the ruble and normalization of the circulation of money; the removal of all obstacles hindering the granting of land to all who want to work it.

There already is land available—several million already—but that is not what it's about. We need to start making sure, on a wide scale, that land reform gets a burst of oxygen, a second breath. Our support is necessary. All the questions must be solved in autumn and winter.

Of course, the harvest should now be brought in, and, so to speak, it must be all preserved, and work should continue, but there are already people who should be thinking about what should be done in the autumn and winter and how this should be done. What is needed is a decisive acceleration of the reorganization of the whole foreign economic sphere and hard currency relations, the speedy transition to the convertability of the ruble, the efficient use of credits and other economic aid which is given to us and which Western countries are prepared to increase. In conversations with me, all the main leaders confirmed that the way the country and the people looked during this day has convinced them that the USSR has finally and irrevocably taken the road to reforms. They understand the necessity of cooperation, of increasing and widening such cooperation, ridding social policies of demagogy, groundless promises, and of programs that are impossible to carry out. We must get rid of economic popularism. Attention must be concentrated on the basic issues of social protection of the working people under the conditions of transition to a market; on employment and on maintaining the living standards of the population; especially of the less well-off; on the issue of housing; etc.

The issue of food, fuel, and energy is an exceptionally acute one for us. Proposals have been prepared by all the republics on these two important issues. We must.... [changes thought] It is possible to resolve them to prevent the failure of the supply of foodstuffs and to ensure we are supplied during the autumn and winter with fuel and energy resources. I would also like to use this chance to appeal, in this most hard time, from this rostrum to the peasants, to all those working in the countryside, to our miners, oil and gas workers, and to power generation specialists to be in their workplaces to the end, to do everything so that we, that these main issues, are resolved.

The committee for the operational management of the economy, which was set up on my decree, should concentrate its efforts first and foremost on tackling these two problems because a lot depends on how to coordinate and how to maintain cooperation.

Seventh: Immediately after signing the Union treaty, there should be a preelection campaign started for elections for all Union bodies, including the president. This is the list of measures which arise, in my opinion, from the main lessons derived from what the country has undergone in the recent days. The concrete content of each of them will be thoroughly worked out in the commissions and the committees of the Supreme Soviet and of the congress of people's deputies speedily, yet competently, and in a businesslike manner. Besides this, they must thoroughly think out ways to check implementation of the laws and observance of legality. Proposals were voiced on this matter.

I think they must be supported. This is all that I felt obliged to say in this report of mine, prepared, as it were, hot on the heels of the tragic events. Now, let's get to work. Decisions and deeds are what the people expect from us. I think that the Supreme Soviet and all of us must act so that legality and order may exist. This means that all those who participated, prepared and participated in this coup, must get everything the law lays down. No one must escape. On the other hand, at this moment, we—all those who... [changes thought] all democratic forces and, I think, the entire people—are against allowing some forces to take the path of chaotically unleashing things which would compromise everything we are doing now and essentially would play into the hands of the very people who wanted to do everything by means of this sedition. I have finished.

Nazarbeyev Proposes Confederative Treaty

LD2608180691 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1310 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Speech by Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev at extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed people's deputies! The past week has been not just days, not just time. It is an era separating us from our entire past life. We celebrate the victory of democratic forces over reaction. We have deep respect for the Muscovites who stood in the way of those who were prepared to chase us back into the stable of a totalitarian regime. We cordially thank the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] and Yeltsin, president of Russia, who took a decisive and uncompromising position in a serious and tragic situation. We deeply grieve for those who perished on the streets of Moscow, for those who, at the cost of their lives, defended the young democracy. At this time, we cannot but also remember all of those who joined so selflessly in the struggle against reactionary forces in practically all regions of the country—the students of Alma-Ata, who, as far back as 1986, went out with their bare hands against military hardware, the victims of Tbilisi, Yerevan and Baku, Vilnius and Kishinev.

However, there is acute concern for the future of the country. We need to take on board the problems facing us, which, as events of the past few days have shown, are far from being solved. We now all have a different awareness, and this obliges us to look at the future of the Union and the Union treaty in a new way.

For me it is obvious that the renewed Union can no longer be a federation. We have spent too long chasing after the past. The declaration of independence by the Ukraine and the similar decision being prepared by Belorussia are evidence of new historical realities which we must not turn away from, or pretend that they do not exist. The situation has changed significantly.

You know that I was an active supporter of the speedy signing of the Union treaty. I remain one. But recent events have shown how explosive and fraught with the danger of bloodshed the old scheme was.

In our time, we failed to listen to Andrey Dmitriyevich Sakharov who proposed the Union as a community of equal republics. He said before we did that the republics had matured for that. But the time has now come for us to understand the correctness of what he said.

How do I envisage that future union? Having entered into contractual economic agreements among ourselves, we republics have in mind broad economic relations with everyone who agrees to it. It is not to the benefit of any of the 15 republics in economic terms to go their separate ways now.

Common Union bodies retain certain functions. In my opinion this should be the protection of common borders, a supreme council for control [kontrolnyy komitet] over nuclear arms under the Ministry of Defense, in which all members of the Union would take part, controlling those who have their finger on the missile launch button.

The Union Ministry of Defense is the ministry for the defense of our borders. As for the army in each republic—and this has already been decided by the RSFSR and Ukraine, and others have also decided this, and Belorussia also intends this—we send the requisite number of servicemen for the Union Ministry of Defense. If an external threat arises, the ministry combines all our armed forces to defend the union.

We should have a joint Union transport network, as well as a republican transport system, including an air transport system. There should be interrepublican service lines [kommunikatsii], and our own service lines should be under our own control. The same applies to communications: there should be interrepublican communications and our own.

International relations are shared only in working out general trends, including the problems of disarmament, general world problems, and so on. But each republic must have its own ministry of foreign affairs with full rights, regulating its foreign political and economic activity and foreign economic and political treaty relations with other states. Each republic must also have completely autonomous consular administrations, so our citizens do not have to depend on the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR to be allowed to travel abroad or to invite guests from abroad.

We are used to the abbreviation USSR. I propose leaving it and expanding it into the Free Union of Sovereign Republics [svobodnyy soyuz suverennykh respublik]. By republics I have in mind all republics, including the autonomous ones that have declared and want to declare themselves sovereign. We must give the right to representatives of any nationality to speak in their national language at all Union and republican forums and give every person the right and opportunity to hear their deputy in their mother tongue. In other words, we are proposing that a confederative treaty be concluded.

I am convinced that only then shall we attain genuine equality for the republics. Perhaps only through this shall we achieve a true federation: I am convinced of it. I should like to note, by the way, that the Novo-Ogarevo treaty is in effect practically a confederative treaty. We are being cagey in regarding it as a federal treaty. So let us admit this honestly, and finally put everything in its rightful place. The conclusion of a noneconomic treaty can only be done in a stable and tranquil atmosphere, and only with republics that fully guarantee human rights and trust each other. Guarantees of human rights for people of all nationalities, religious faiths, and party allegiances, apart from fascist parties, of course, must be assured without fail on our territories in line with the Helsinki accord. To this end, Kazakhstan is prepared to be the first to invite an international commission to operate permanently in our multi-ethnic republic. We want to completely end violations of human rights that we have inherited from the old system.

We are also prepared to invite an international commission of experts to examine all patients in all hospitals, maybe in our republic, too. We are going to immediately launch a review of all so-called economic crimes, most of which were a punishment for ordinary entrepreneurial activity. We also regard all this as an assurance that we shall build a law-governed state and as a guarantee of republican sovereignty.

I call for an immediate solution to the question of giving full freedom to the Baltic republics, Moldova, and Georgia, and all who have expressed their aspiration for independence and autonomy by legal, democratic means, without any settling of accounts or the presentation of the notorious claims for debts amounting to billions, because even one human life is invaluable, and the people of our country have paid with so many for the love of freedom which they have displayed. And are these victims the last?

So, the x-plus-one formula remains a thing of the past. Then, I must say straight out that in the new Union there should not be any Union cabinet of ministers, no Union parliament, apart from the treaty relations entered into by the republics. The moment of truth has arrived today. I cannot imagine any other basis on which Kazakhstan will enter a union with the other republics.

That, so to speak, is strategy. But the tactics for the immediate future must consist of the urgent formation not of a cabinet of ministers, but of a transitional interrepublic economic council. In it representatives of all the republics will work on an equal footing, joining in an economic community. But before that, we must give those who have decided to leave the opportunity to realize that right. All may join that interim economic council, including those who decide to secede from the Union. But economic cooperation will still continue, for the time being, for we are aware that, while they will leave politically, they will continue to cooperate economically with the others.

We have a legally elected president and parliament, which continue their activity. This should be mainly directed at insuring that people should survive the winter and not die of hunger.

That is my view, in general terms, of the future union. In conclusion I want to stress—so that no one should harbor any illusions—that Kazakhstan will never be any region's underbelly and will never be anyone's little brother. We shall enter the Union only with equal rights and equal possibilities. Thank you for your attention. [applause]

Sobchak Opposes 'Hasty' Decisions

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[Speech by Leningrad Mayor Anatoliy Aleksandrovich Sobchak at the extraordinary session of USSR Supreme Soviet in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed colleagues! When I asked for the floor I wanted to speak from this rostrum about the mistakes we have committed, about the reasons that brought things to a coup d'etat through our tolerance.

But now I want to talk about something else. I want to say, esteemed colleagues, that all the discussion today leaves an extremely painful impression. [applause] And I am not going to talk about the fact that some people are trying after the event to distort their true position and set it out in a more advantageous light.

I want now to say something else. Today the most favorable situation, the most favorable conditions, are perhaps being created before us to move forward quickly along the path of political and economic reforms. For six years all efforts to implement reforms were held back by the communist structures. For six years all attempts to get anything moving were stopped as a result of the fact that the whole system of the CPSU as part of the state structure either halted or simply did not permit any transformations.

Today we have finally got the chance to throw off these ton weights on the country's feet and have got the chance to move forward, and what do we hear? I am worried most of all by the tendency that has appeared in a number of speeches, attempts to deprive the country of its leading bodies; talk about how today we no longer need any single Union body of power, that all this has to be got rid of, that autonomy has to do only with the solution of issues at the level of the republics, and so on and so forth.

Here I see two dangers. I should like to talk about the speech by a person I respect and respect profoundly and truly as a human being—I love this man—Nursultan

Abishevich Nazarbayev. I worked with him in the commission on Tbilisi and even then was filled with respect for him because of his principled, honest, uncompromising position.

But today, when I heard his speech, I thought it was dictated by a certain emotional mood, to do with a number of no less emotional statements by Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] deputies and some people from the RSFSR leadership and I am not talking about Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, but there were statements about how the Union functions should be handed over to the RSFSR parliament, to the RSFSR leadership, and to appoint, or hand over the prerogatives of the Union President to the RSFSR President, and I realize that this immediately produces a certain negative reaction. I can understand this.

But there is something else that I cannot understand. Today the danger of hasty, emotional, unthought out decisions is very much greater than it was even yesterday.

We are today tackling the future of this country and, to a certain degree, the future of mankind. And for this reason it is very important not to take any hasty decisions, or any superficial ones, on this wave, from the angle of a national, independent position.

I should like to cite just one example. I am very concerned about the fact that in the speeches of all the representatives of our republics who spoke of the necessity for full state autonomy, not one word was said about how they are eliminating the communist structures and how they are handling the property of the CPSU. But there is a very great danger here that behind this talk of national independence, they are trying to preserve these structures, but in a new form, they are trying to create these reserves for the nomenklatura at home in the localities in the framework of this or that national formation.

And while we are a single country, with a single Constitution, and until we have freed ourselves of all the vestiges of communist and post-communist structures, I think we need to say to everyone unambiguously: Let's first get rid of all elements of the system that has been stifling all of us, let's first create the essential legal conditions, and then each one, each people, each state formation, has the right to independence, to solve their own national problems. But at the beginning it is essential to insure the rights of every person, so that we should not condemn our people in specific national formations to a life in conditions of a totalitarian state. And today this could be one of the most important problems.

Next, I should like us today to evaluate our degree of self-criticism. Probably the most self-critical was the speech by our president, although he could have spoken even more self-critically. I consider that if we are to talk of the mistakes of the Union leadership, and of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev personally, his main mistake was that all the economic and political changes in the country were slowed down and adjusted to fit attempts at reform and change in the Communist Party, to fit the level of acceptibility of any particular reform or change in the processes of perestroyka to the Communist Party.

And as for that attempt for six years to reform the unreformable, that was the main mistake. It should have been recognized long ago that it was incapable of reform, that it would not yield to reformation, and it should have been disbanded as a state structure, something which we did not do until today, after waiting for a coup d'etat.

But let us take a look now at ourselves and let us be more self- critical in assessing our own participation in this whole affair. Let us remember how we allowed ourselves to be endlessly manipulated in this hall. I have been particularly aware of this in the last six months because when I was performing my new duties, I did not attend the session every day, but came only when the most important issues were due to be debated. Whenever I came, in accordance with the previously announced schedule for the Supreme Soviet's work, for the consideration of one particular issue, the issue in question was never actually considered on that day. Every day, Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov, as an experienced trickster, manipulated the agenda, the apparatus and our votes, in order to obtain the required decision.

So, we must all ask ourselves this: why did we put up with it, why did we, deputies and members of the Supreme Soviet, on whom the work of this Soviet depends, put up with the virtual diktat of one man, who subordinated to himself both the apparatus and us and always obtained the decision which he required? Whenever he saw that the mood in the hall was different, he immediately withdrew that decision, or else proposals were not heard, and he turned a deaf ear to them, so to speak; then, two or three days later, when there was somehow a different atmosphere in the hall or certain deputies were not there, he pushed that same decision through. That is what we have to face up to properly.

Fine, the law-enforcement bodies and our parliamentary commission will look into Lukyanov's position and I think they will come to an appropriate conclusion on his part in that conspiracy. But let us take a look at the stance of our institutions. As for the presidium, they say Lukyanov did not convene them, so they could not convene. But what about the committees and the parliamentary groups? We have set up dozens of groups of deputies. Why did none of them get together and state their attitude to this affair on the morning of the 19th?

After all, you are people's deputies and it is up to you to resolve matters relating to the whole state. And our soviet is called the Supreme Soviet—there is nobody above us. Why did only one committee save the face of the Supreme Soviet?—the Committee for Legislation, which on the 20th adopted a decision condemning the State Commiteee for the State of Emergency [SCSE] and its decisions as unconstitutional. And we broadcast these decisions on radio and television, we duplicated and circulated them, and on the basis of them we said: Look, this is the position the highest body of state power is adhering to. And that helped us in tackling matters and in restraining the situation. We showed this decision to the generals and said: Look, you tell us you have orders. But do not come out. Do not bring in troops. And it is possible that they showed restraint thanks to that decision.

But where was our Security Committee, which has today published its conclusions dated the 24th? And what about the other committees? Any and all of the committees ought to have assembled—however many of us there might have been here—and adopted its decision. Why did we not do this? Today each of us ought to be asking his conscience why we did not do this. But the fact is that we did not, and therefore we should be thinking about how we are to construct a system for the highest organ of state authority so that such things may not be repeated tomorrow. Because I very much fear that the things now being talked about offer very fertile soil for the conspirators to raise their heads again. And just imagine how some of the things now being talked about, if they had been said prior to the events, would have provided additional favourable ground for those decrees and instructions issued by the SCSE. All of this, comrades, we have to soberly appraise, without keeping anything secret from our consciences, and admit it to ourselves.

But at the same time there should be no dissolution of state authority at union level. Today is not the time for dissolutions. Some people are saying: let's remove the president. Others are saying: let's dissolve the Supreme Soviet. But who is going to run the country? We do not have a government today. So what we need now is to ensure continuity of authority. We need to get through to the extraordinary congress. We need to deal with some of the most important issues at that congress. And then just before the Congress, on the Supreme Soviet's last day of work before the Congress, once we have already resolved some issues this week...I think the comrades were right to say that we need to take a decision to dissolve ourselves so that the congress may elect a new Supreme Soviet, on a new footing based on republican lists. Various suggestions are possible here, provided they take account of the fact that we are moving toward a new union of sovereign states. So that is something we definitely have to do.

But what we have to do today—or tomorrow, for there is still time left and this is within our authority—is to repeal our own law granting additional powers to the President. This was that same extraordinary law which was afterwards cited as the basis for many of the SCSE's resolutions, but which had never been used by the President. For there you see the danger of legislation of that sort—if it is not made use of by one, it will be made use of by others.

In this case, Gorbachev did not use a single one of those additional powers, but they were used by the plotters who staged the coup d'etat. Therefore, I propose that the repeal of this law should be raised at this session.

A statement by USSR people's deputies from the northwestern region, 11 oblasts and republics in the northwest and the three Baltic republics, has been circulated to you. I think it will be handed out. It was adopted on the 24th. It sets out our view on many issues, including the need to repeal a number of laws, decrees and resolutions adopted by the Supreme Soviet, the issue of the press and the mass media, and several others. I think we should also consider at the Supreme Soviet the legality of several decisions that have already been adopted, such as the closure of certain mass media, taking into account that we have a procedure set forth by law for closing those media. And the Supreme Soviet must give an assessment of these decrees as well, so that we do not commit mistakes on a wave of euphoria which will shame us in future in the eyes of our children and grandchildren: That after displaying endurance and creating perhaps the most favorable conditions, we missed the moment to put this country onto the true road of freedom and democracy. Thank you. [applause]

Khasbulatov on Economic Tasks

LD2608140591 Moscow TASS in English 1324 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 26 TASS—Russian parliament Acting Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov today addressed the Soviet parliament.

Khasbulatov focused on immediate economic tasks. He noted that great creative forces should be aimed primarily on radical economic reforms.

Agriculture should be the focus of reforms, Khasbulatov said. It is necessary to give farmers the possibility to freely leave collective and state farms, provide them with land and equipment for effective agriculture and recognise private property.

Speaking about industrial reforms, Khasbulatov noted that the republic aims to reform enterprises on its territory, subordinated to Union ministries, into independent firms. Their activities should be regulated only by tax legislation.

Industrial reforms should make Western firms' participation in modernising and increasing production profitable, Khasbulatov said.

Khasbulatov favoured rapid conversion of defence industry enterprises and strengthening the country's financial and credit base. Radical cuts should be made in the state apparatus, including the KGB and Defence Ministry, and in the military budget by some 50 billion roubles this year.

Speaking about the Union treaty, Khasbulatov said the draft approved by the Russian parliament, should be amended, following the recent events. It is possible to complete this work in September, including the signing of the treaty.

Khasbulatov noted that Russia is planning to sign a Union treaty within the framework of a "single state delegation" including delegations from constituent republics of the Russian Federation. "We reject any other form of signing it," he said.

Alekseyev: Disband Constitutional Committee

LD2608133291 Moscow TASS in English 1314 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 26 TASS—Chairman of the Constitutional Compliance Committee Sergey Alekseyev proposed disbanding the Committee and replacing it with the constitutional court.

Speaking at an extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, he said the Constitutional Compliance Committee was drawn into "a system of state lies". According to Alekseyev, this is "a body without power and the right to exercise control", created only for appearance's sake.

Alekseyev proposed setting up "a small department" to protect the Constitution, with the right to suspend all actions which threaten the constitutional order. According to Alekseyev, the parliament must immediately consider any issue if the constitutional order is threatened.

People's Deputies Congress Set for 2 Sep

OW2608112891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1000 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Supreme Soviet decided to convene the Congress of USSR People's Deputies for a session on September 2. At its emergency session which opened today 438 of the 487 registered MPs voted for this.

Opening the session Ivan Laptev deplored the inertia and indifference displayed by the Supreme Soviet during the coup. Supreme Soviet members, he said, will have to account to themselves for the 3 days of silence.

Alksnis Denies Soyuz Behind Coup

LD2608140191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1215 GMT 26 Aug 91

[By TASS parliamentary correspondents Lyudmila Aleksandrovna and Yuriy Kozmin]

[Text] Moscow, 26 Aug (TASS)—Viktor Alksnis, one of the leaders of the "Soyuz" group in the USSR parliament participating in the extraordinary session of the country's parliament, categorically denied assertions by many representatives of the democratic camp that their group was the main idological inspiration for the failed putsch and that it supported it.

"People can say whatever they like," he said, "but the 'Soyuz' group has always been in favour of resolving this issue by constitutional means, through the congress and Supreme Soviet alone. Not one address has appealed for violent overthrow."

As Viktor Alksnis said, it is true that there was no official statement from the "Soyuz" group. "We decided to take a cautious stand," he said. According to him, the State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE] did not attempt to use the "Soyuz" group.

Speaking of his personal attitude to what happened, Viktor Alksnis admitted his defeat, saying that for the first few minutes he "supported the idea of the SCSE" but changed his position a day later. "I think," he said, "that these were anticonstitutional actions in which all of the country's top leadership took part."

Answering a question about the CPSU's fate, Viktor Alksnis said that the "party is doomed." "Severe trials and complete economic collapse" lie ahead for the USSR, according to him.

Events in the Baltics "will follow the Yugoslav pattern," in his opinion.

Nikolay Petrushenko, another member of the "Soyuz" group, told journalists of his complete support for the measures announced by the SCSE. He called them "absolutely constitutional." In his opinion, without these measures there will be complete collapse in the country. However, the official position of this parliamentary group has not been declared as yet at the session.

Further on Soyuz Position

LD2608185191

[Editorial Report] Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian at 1500 GMT on 26 August in its live relay from the USSR Supreme Soviet session carries statements by Deputies Alksnis and Kogan on allegations that the Soyuz group was involved in the coup attempt.

Deputy Alksnis takes the floor and speaks on the allegations.

He says: "I agree to listen to convincing arguments about our group being involved with that committee [State Committee on the State of Emergency]. But so far, facts in connection with this haven't been heard in the press or anywhere else. There has just been the report in KURANTY. Moreover, it was a highly provocative statement alleging that in Leningrad Deputy Belyayev, a member of Soyuz, addressed an extraordinary session of the Leningrad City Soviet and stated that the Soyuz group had allegedly planned a coup for September. It was planning to go to military camps and call on the military to revolt. That is the only information that there has been in the press on the alleged involvement of the Soyuz group in the coup. Therefore, I think we really should get to the bottom of all these questions. If there are any charges against the group, well, we will get to the bottom of it and everything will be done in accordance with the law."

Deputy Kogan takes the floor next. Speaking on the alleged role of Soyuz in the coup, he says:

"As for the allegations that the Soyuz group took part in that coup, I declare that this is slander, as far as I know, and I am an active member of the Soyuz group. I have never hidden the fact that I am in favor of a vote of no confidence in President Gorbachev. I do not hide the fact that the Soyuz group gathered signatures to hold an emergency or extraordinary congress. But all of that falls quite within the framework of the law and within the framework of parliamentary opposition activity. All the shouts about the violation of the Constitution have been made now mainly by those who themselves violated it daily and systematically."

Lukyanov Departure Considered

OW2608211691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2000 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At this moment the third meeting of the Soviet parliament's session is going on in the Kremlin. The issue under discussion is the departure of Anatoly Lukyanov from his post as speaker of the Supreme Soviet.

The political council of the Democratic Reform Movement (DRM) has sent Mr. Eduard Sagalayev, the head of the Journalists' Union, as its official representative to the session to demand that this issue be decided upon at today's meeting. In case no decision on Lukyanov's future is taken today (the DRM insists that he should voluntarily resign as speaker of the Supreme Soviet and as People's Deputy) the movement, along with "Democratic Russia", intends to call on the people to hold a mass demonstration in Moscow.

Evening Session Acts on Lukyanov

LD2608203491 Moscow TASS in English 1952 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 26 TASS—The USSR Supreme Soviet, which continued an extraordinary session tonight, decided to suspend Anatoly Lukyanov from exercising his duties as chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet pending the results of discussion of the role of the parliament's leadership in the events of August 18-21.

Lukyanov told deputies that he retains the right to address the session because "he must tell the truth to people with whom he worked for three years."

Then a commission to draft the resolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the report of President Mikhail Gorbachev on the situation arising in the country in connection with the coup d'etat was set up.

After that the evening session ended. It will resume its work at 10:00 on Tuesday.

Lukyanov Reserves Right to Speak

LD2608230391 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2124 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Remarks by USSR Supreme Soviet Chairman Anatoliy Lukyanov at evening session of USSR Supreme Soviet in Moscow on 26 August—recorded]

[Text] As I am still chairman for a few minutes, I have the right to take the floor out of turn. I have submitted a statement to you; I have submitted statements to the president and to the Supreme Soviet. I myself, at the presidium, raised the issue that I feel uncomfortable, in view of such accusations—which I refute in the most resolute manner—chairing sessions of the presidium and of the congress. And so I have to agree with the decision which is being proposed by the deputies, and write: Having examined the statement by the chairman about such and such, or simply, having examined the statement, the Supreme Soviet resolves to entrust the chairing of proceedings to the chairmen of the chambers—[interruption from the floor—"What's your statement got to do with it?"]—I, comrades, I am setting out for you, comrades, the legal formula on how this can and should be adopted. And the rest is up to you. I, of course, reserve the right to speak, because I have to say, face to face, everything that I think to the people with whom I have worked for three years and with whom I have found a common language.

Lukyanov Suspended From Duties

LD2608222191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2113 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] [no dateline as received] The USSR Supreme Soviet, proceeding from the resolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet presidium of 22 August 1991 on dismissing A.I. Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, from chairing sittings of the USSR Supreme Soviet presidium and the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, decrees:

1. That the resolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet presidium on the issue in question be ratified and that the chairmen of the chambers shall be instructed to chair sessions in accordance with Article III of the USSR Constitution.

2. That the resignation request of A.I. Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, be examined during discussion of point three of the agenda of the present session.

3. That A.I. Lukyanov shall be suspended from performing the duties of chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet until the outcome of discussion of the role of the USSR Supreme Soviet leadership in the events of 18 - 21 August of this year.

Moscow, Kremlin.

26 August 1991. USSR Supreme Soviet

Political & Social

Gorbachev Holds Meeting With Republic Leaders

LD2708091891 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0900 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] Today is the second day of the work of the extraordinary session of the country's parliament. Deputies are continuing to discuss the report by USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev—delivered yesterday—about the socio-political situation which has evolved in the country because of the anti-constitutional state coup.

A meeting between the USSR president and the leaders of the republics which began this morning in the Kremlin is devoted to this range of questions.

Decrees Fire Spiridonov, Promote Shaposhnikov

LD2608184991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 26 Aug 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] We have just received by teletype the text of decrees by the USSR president:

By presidential decree, Lev Nikolayevich Spiridonov has been released from his duties as general director of TASS. [passage omitted]

By decree of the USSR president, the NOVOSTI News Agency has been transferred to the jurisdiction of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic.

And another decree: The USSR president has conferred on Colonel General of Aviation Yevgeniy Ivanovich Shaposhnikov the military rank of marshal of aviation.

Kravchenko Fired

LD2608181891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1755 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, 26 Aug (TASS)—USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev today signed a decree "on releasing Leonid Kravchenko from his duties as chairman of the All-Union State Television and Radio Broadcasting Company."

Commentary on Gorbachev Loss of 'Cadre Capital'

PM2608105391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Aug 91 Union Edition p 2

[Commentary by V. Nadein: "New Ministers To Replace the Plotters"]

[Text] USSR President M.S. Gorbachev has adopted a series of decrees to swell the ranks of the USSR Cabinet of Ministers, which have been well and truly depleted as a result of Cabinet members' mass involvement in the anticonstitutional putsch.

The most major changes were to the leadership of the three ministries with armed formations. After the feverishly hasty—and for that reason, probably, extremely unsuccessful—appointment of General M. Moiseyev as acting USSR defense minister, the country's president deemed it advisable to immediately fill several vacancies.

As is now known, General Yevgeniy Ivanovich Shaposhnikov, previously commander in chief of the Air Force, took over from Marshal D.T. Yazov, who was removed by decree on Thursday immediately on Gorbachev's return to Moscow and arrested even before the decree was signed.

The president has appointed Vladimir Nikolayevich Lobov first deputy defense minister and chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces. P.S. Grachev has become a USSR deputy defense minister; after the rebellion he also took the chairmanship of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] State Committee for Defense Questions.

The country's president also made top-level cadre changes at the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. V.P. Trushin performed the duties of minister for less than a day. He was relieved of these duties 23 August. This post has been given to Viktor Pavlovich Barannikov by USSR presidential decree.

The period for which Leonid Vladimirovich Shebarshin headed the USSR KGB was also short. By USSR presidential decree Vadim Viktorovich Bakatin, well-known for his democratic convictions, heads the sinister department on which the lives of each of us hitherto depended.

A U.S. agency was the first to report that the president had sacked USSR Foreign Minister A.A. Bessmertnykh. Then U.S. Secretary of State Baker had a telephone conversation with A.A. Bessmertnykh. The Soviet minister said that he had been dismissed because of his passivity during the putsch.

A few hours after this news began to be actively discussed worldwide, TASS unhurriedly sent our editorial office written confirmation.

President Gorbachev signed a decree 23 August relieving USSR Foreign Minister Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Bessmertnykh, member of the USSR Security Council, of his duties. During his few months as head of the foreign policy department this career diplomat has carried out a number of successful measures.

In particular, he had a leading role in definitively settling the disagreements over the Strategic Offensive Arms Treaty [START] that Gorbachev and Bush signed recently in Moscow. A.A. Bessmertnykh played a tremendous role in organizing the Near East conference scheduled for this October. His friendly personal relations with U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker are well known.

During the Washington START talks Bessmertnykh headed the delegation while chief of the General Staff M. Moiseyev was, as it were, his deputy—but with functions that very much resembled a right of veto. Both Bessmertnykh and Moiseyev noted that this joint work brought them very close together and gave rise to mutual trust. This may have affected the minister's behavior during this time. The minister's attempt to seek refuge in illness looked pathetic, even on television.

M.S. Gorbachev quite obviously appointed the leaders of the three armed ministries with the direct involvement of RSFSR President B.N. Yeltsin. In the direct sense of the terms none of the three can be described as members of the Union president's team.

But why did the President not appoint his own people, men close to him? He, more than anyone else, realizes the importance of vertical trust as an indispensable working instrument of effective policy.

During the putsch the RSFSR leadership demonstrated most clearly the importance of unity among one's immediate staff. I.S. Silayev, chairman of the Russian Council of Ministers, found himself in an immeasurably more difficult and dangerous position than USSR Prime Minister Pavlov. Silayev risked not only a career, for which he would not have grieved too much, but also his life.

Since he saw B.N. Yeltsin not as a boss or grandee "lording it over" all his subordinates but as a like-minded colleague, Silayev worked hard throughout the rebellion.

It is not even that Yeltsin was betrayed by virtually no one, while Gorbachev was betrayed by virtually all his closest comrades in arms. The main thing is that the USSR president will have to operate in an unusual situation, indeed one that is unprecedented in world practice: His entire apparatus—all the individuals that formally and informally made up the prominent "Gorbachev" political firm—has been utterly destroyed. Gorbachev's cadre capital has, in fact, disappeared.

Despite his even, sociable character and skill in making friends and winning people over, M.S. Gorbachev has always held fast to his dour personal secretariat headed by Boldin, who betrayed his boss. There is no doubt that Boldin is to blame for a host of cadre reshuffles that often made the whole country clutch its head in amazement.

The sterile information which Boldin passed out undoubtedly failed to provide Gorbachev with the right material for precise cadre actions. However, his dispersal of a group of specialists and intellectuals whom Yeltsin willingly took as comrades is evidence that the Union president is unlikely to succeed in bringing his splendid career to a fitting conclusion without the firm revision of all the mechanisms for forming a government team.

To all appearances, A.A. Bessmertnykh's removal as foreign minister—he was in the thick of the Near East process—and the rapid approach of the October conference will force the president to pay attention to Ye. Primakov, a specialist on this region. What is more, he proved his loyalty during the putsch. However, that politician does not have an overly good reputation in Washington, our country's main partner in the international arena. The USSR presidential decree on Bessmertnykh's successor that looks likely to come over the next few days will also cause B.N. Yeltsin difficulties. The Russian president claims some involvement in this decision, but his team is understandably lacking in acknowledged foreign-policy experts.

The appointments of the new ministers and KGB chairman are to be ratified at the USSR Supreme Soviet session due to open on Monday.

Feature Rounds Up Postcoup Developments in KGB

PM2508144791 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 24 Aug 91 p 1

[Feature comprising unattributed report and reports by V. Filin, V. Prokopenko, and S. Pluzhnikov: "The KGB's Grim Routine"]

[Text]

Who Is Served by "Alpha"

General Viktor Karpukhin, leader of the USSR KGB Antiterrorist Group, refutes all stories about his subordinates' involvement in the well known events around the Russian "White House" in Moscow and in Foros. "'Alpha' played no part in the putsch," he emphasized on the telephone, "I personally received no orders from Kryuchkov, and consequently obeyed no orders. The group operated normally. The same applies to other 'special purpose' groups of the USSR KGB. I have no information or facts about the involvement of other 'special purpose groups' like, for example, the General Staff's Main Intelligence Directorate."

According to unofficial information, a general meeting (also unofficial) was held in "Alpha" at the height of the coup, where staffers said something along these lines: We've had enough with Vilnius, we're not storming anything any more. Thus, they essentially refused in advance to obey any unconstitutional orders by the leadership.

Judging by everything, all this has the ring of truth. But in this case, an answer must still be provided to the question: Who performed "special" tasks during the putsch, thus possibly unraveling the most puzzling of puzzles associated with the coup.

Stop Press

It has been announced that the USSR KGB Antiterrorist Group, also known as "Alpha", has been made subordinate to the USSR president personally. Gen. Viktor Fedorovich Karpukhin has been removed from the group's leadership.

It looks as if this will not be the last of many reorganizations within the USSR KGB, many of which will be perfectly justified, just like the cadre movements which usually accompany successful and unsuccessful coups. But God forbid that this should become a general clearance. Professionals are made of delicate material...

Yustas and Aleks Now Working for KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA

Igor Burashnikov, staffer of the Karaganda KGB Directorate's Special Department, telephoned the editorial office yesterday and reported that secret instructions from Moscow were received by the Special Department in the morning, demanding the immediate destruction of all previous telegrams from the center, including these instructions.

A total of three secret dispatches arrived in Karaganda during the attempted coup. The first, dated 16 August, authorized double salary payments for all Special Department staffers, as well as personal bonuses of up to two salary payments.

The other two (dated 18 and 19 August) introduced a status of enhanced combat readiness in special departments. All three were signed by Kryuchkov. The last one—about the destruction of all documents—was signed by Major General G. Kazemir, chief of the USSR KGB Special Departments Directorate.

Incidentally

We were informed from Nakhodka that the local State Security Directorate received yesterday a coded message from the USSR KGB ordering the destruction of all written orders received from the organs' leadership during the coup. Specifically, coded messages from Lieutenant General Kalinichenko, chief of the USSR KGB Main Directorate of Border Guard Troops, about placing border guard troops in a state of enhanced combat readiness, and others were to be destroyed by 1200 hours on 24 August.

Republic Supreme Soviets Discuss Putsch

LD2508004491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1800 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Text] Alma-Ata, 24 Aug (TASS)—At a session of the Supreme Soviet which took place today, the parliamentarians of Kazakhstan supported the position and decisive actions by the President of Kazakhstan and the republic bodies of state power and administration to support the democratic forces in attempted state coup. Lack of confidence was expressed in Anatoliy Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and in the present USSR Cabinet of Ministers. The parliamentarians of Kazakhstan consider it impossible for those leaders—who by their actions supported the anti-constitutional grouping—to remain in their posts.

Showing care and concern over the future of the country, the deputies proposed that additional measures providing a legal basis for prohibiting the possibility of encroachments upon the constitutional system, democracy, and human rights be introduced into the text of the Union treaty which has been drawn up for signing. Taking account of the recent events, changes and amendments have been introduced into the Kazakhstan Constitution promoting the strengthening of the republic's state sovereignty.

Izhevsk. The actions of the leadership of Udmurtia during the attempted state coup were recognized as correct and well-founded at an extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet of the republic. The activity of the staff of the Internal Affairs Ministry, KGB, procurator's office, and military commissariat also were assessed positively. The session noted that although there were no official documents, democratic forces nevertheless were able to brief the population about the events in the country and to organize a petition in support of legitimate power.

Syktyvkar. An extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet of the Komi SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] opened in Syktyvkar today. The actions of the Supreme Soviet Presidium of the republic during the operation of the so-called State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE] in the USSR are being discussed at it. Some of the members of the Presidium resigned for various reasons. Among them are Aleksandr Rogov, first deputy chairman of the Komi SSR Supreme Soviet. On 19 August he sent a telegram to the chairmen of the rayon city soviets of people's deputies and their executive committees with the instruction "to be strictly guided by the Constitution and laws of the USSR and by the resolutions of the SCSE." It's true that he revoked it on 20 August.

It was planned at the session also to examine questions of the resolutions and instructions of the Komi SSR Government while the SCSE was operational, of the work of the mass media during this time, the report by the chairman of the constitutional supervision committee of the Komi SSR, and also on the decree of the RSFSR president "on the temporary suspension of the activity of the Communist Party of the RSFSR."

Republic Leaders Express Views on Putsch

LD2608172991 Moscow TASS in English 1705 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 26 TASS—President Mintimer Shaimiyev of Tatarstan rejected allegations of the republican leadership's complicity in the emergency committee's illegal actions.

He confirmed Tatarstan's policy of democratising all spheres of public life and described attempts at fanning passions around his republic as prompted by the desire, banking on the situation, to smear Tatarstan's "inconvenient" position as the only republic within the Russian Federation that intends to sign the new Union treaty on its own.

"Tatarstan's desire to sign the Union treaty directly and independently is a result of the enhanced self-awareness of its multi-national people, which became possible owing to the democratisation of our society, and these processes are becoming irreversible," Shaymiyev said.

Chairman of Armenia's Supreme Soviet Levon Ter-Petrosyan said in a brief address that "the centre has fully outlived itself as a result of the coup, it is dead, it has committed suicide, and if this corpse is re-animated, we shall recreate the danger of a catastrophe like the one that has occurred."

Ter-Petrosyan said he will elaborate on this statement at the congress of Soviet people's deputies.

Yuri Shcherbak, a Soviet people's deputy from the Ukraine, described the coup d'etat as a "political Chernobyl".

"In August 1991," he said, "the old Stalinist union collapsed, the single and indivisible communist empire collapsed. On the ruins of the old union sovereign states and republics have already emerged and new ones will emerge. The August 19, 1991 events have shown the final insolvency of the existing state political system of the USSR and President Mikhail Gorbachev's inability to ensure the country's free democratic development."

Shcherbak said that the presidential form of government, as approved by the Congress of Soviet People's Deputies and realized by Mikhail Gorbachev, as well as the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Cabinet of Ministers of the USSR are structures which do not reflect today the actual political correlation of forces and interests in society.

"These structures must be dissolved by the extraordinary congress of people's deputies, which must step down after that," Shcherbak said.

According to him, "there can no longer be a single Union treaty." he proposed creating a Euro-Asian Economic Community, as well as a military-political organisation of the NATO type and other structures.

A representative of Moldova, People's Deputy Konstantin Oborok, stressed that the leadership of Moldova was unanimous in its anti-coup position. He said the Moldovan parliament would consider the republic's independence at it session on Tuesday.

'Prominent' Politicians on Union Treaty, Coup

LD2608225491 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] Prominent politicians on the situation in the USSR: Interviews in the lobby of the USSR Supreme Soviet session provided by the INTERFAX agency.

Askar Akayev, President of Kyrgyzstan, spoke in favor of continuing the Novo-Ogarevo process and creating a Union which republics could join on different foundations, up to their participation as independent states. He said that such a Union could resemble the British Commonwealth.

In academician Likhachev's view, a Union is necessary since full decomposition of the country could result in a war and a fight over borders which were established arbitrarily. The danger of war really exists if the issue of union is not correctly formulated from the outset, academician Likhachev believes.

Yuriy Shcherbak, deputy from the Ukraine, said that after an attempted coup, it is out of the question for the Ukraine to sign the draft Union treaty. One can consider only certain accords on the Army and strategic forces.

In Aleksandr Yakovlev's view, the actions by the State Committee for the State of Emergency were not thought out. I have the impression that after taking power they did not know what to do with it. Our military never knew how to go about civil matters, Aleksandr Yakovlev stressed.

Aleksandr Dzasokhov, former member of the former Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, categorically denies his support for the putschists. He is in favor of creating an absolutely new Communist Party of a parliamentary kind. In his view, such a party could gather about 1 million people.

Colonel Viktor Alksnis, a member of the Soyuz group, admitted that at one time, the group was in favor of introducing a state of emergency, but only within the framework of the USSR Constitution. The Soyuz group has suffered defeat, but Colonel Alksnis is confident that the idea of a great state will win in the future.

Nikolay Petrushenko, yet another prominent figure in the Soyuz group, believes that the events of 19-21 August were not a putsch but a well-played performance. The people who have suffered from the attempted coup are not those against whom the coup was aimed; therefore, in Petrushenko's words, one should look for those who were to benefit from the event.

Rafik Nishanov, chairman of the Chamber of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, said that it was Lukyanov's personal decision to convene the USSR Supreme Soviet as late as the 26th. According to Nishanov, he did not even consult the chairmen of the Chambers. In connection with this, Nishanov said that it is necessary to change the Supreme Soviet's leadership, including chairmen of the committees and commissions of the Supreme Soviet.

Armenian Supreme Soviet Chairman Levon Ter-Petrosyan does not believe the rumors alleging that Gorbachev organized the putsch; however, it was Gorbachev's policy, his irresponsibility and concessions, that led to the putsch. Ter-Petrosyan believes that Russia must take the Soviet Army, the Union Ministry of Internal Affairs and the USSR KGB under its control as a guarantee against a repetition of the putsch. If this is not done, an attempt by the right-wing forces to take control of the repressive bodies, which still exist, is possible.

Sergey Baburin, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic people's deputy, stressed that the coup had been anticonstitutional. He said that today the country is fully repeating the 1917 scenario. If we do not recognize the need for common sense and mutual understanding, very soon we will arrive at an October Revolution, the deputy believes, that is, we will swap one dictatorship for another.

Supreme Soviet's Laptev on Role During Coup

PM2608121791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Aug 91 Union Edition p 4

[Interview with I.D. Laptev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union, by S. Taranov; date, place not given; first paragraph is IZVESTIYA introduction: "Why the 'Experts on the People' Miscalculated"]

[Text] The putsch is over. And today all of us—voters and citizens—must know and ascertain the smallest details of the way the country's authorities and individual leaders acted during those three black August days. How did it happen that precisely the legitimate power, i.e. that elected by the people, found itself so vulnerable to the actions of a handful of conspirators? The following interview with I.D. Laptev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union, is about this.

[Taranov] How did you learn of the coup that had been staged, Ivan Dmitriyevich? What did you do during the first hours of the putsch?

[Laptev] I turned the television on at 0700, as usual. The announcer was reading out a statement by the Supreme Soviet chairman, and then the documents adopted by the State Committee for the State of Emergency. No one rang me either during the night or early in the morning or summoned me to work.

I drove to the Kremlin, overtaking columns of armored hardware. There I discovered that Lukyanov, who was to have returned from leave (he had been vacationing at Valday) only the next day, was already in his office. Without communicating with Anatoliy Ivanovich, I went through to my own office, trying simply to fathom what had happened. There was no doubt: What Yakovlev and Shevardnadze and many other people who had observed the events of recent months with alarm had been warning of had happened: an anticonstitutional, antilaw, antipeople coup.

The telephones were working (later, it is true, communications sometimes behaved strangely). I called Bakatin at approximately 0930. When I asked whether it was true that Gorbachev's health had cracked, Vadim Viktorovich declared categorically: It's a barefaced lie, absurd! He referred to G.I. Revenko, the president's adviser, who had talked with Gorbachev the previous evening. A little later their opinion was repeated to me by A.I. Volskiy.

At 1000 there was a call from Lukyanov. He said that there was something the matter with Gorbachev and that someone had gone to him in the Crimea, after which the Supreme Soviet chairman had been summoned from vacation. I replied: Do not let yourself be duped, if you will pardon the expression. There is quite different information. We have to convene the Presidium and a USSR Supreme Soviet session and bring Gorbachev along to them. Here the conversation ended. A session of the Union parliament was scheduled, as originally announced, only for 27 August, although by the end of the day it had been brought forward by one day.

The situation was complicated by the fact that there was no information—absolutely no information—about the whereabouts and condition of Gorbachev. Just like millions of my fellow citizens, during the first hours of the putsch I knew only what the single Central Television channel was broadcasting.

[Taranov] Did any of "the eight" call on you?

[Laptev] No. None of them called on me or, as far as I know, on R.N. Nishanov. For them, evidently, the chairmen of the chambers simply did not exist.

By midday on 19 August members of the Political Council of the Movement for Democratic Reforms (I am one of its cochairmen) had drawn up and agreed over the telephone our movement's statement condemning the attempted anticonstitutional coup. And throughout all the subsequent hours and days we maintained contact with one another and exchanged the latest information. Unfortunately, because of the information blockade, our first statement was disseminated only through foreign correspondents.

Nor was my article "Split in the CPSU and Apparatus 'Games,' or the Direction We Must Take To Get Out of the Trenches" fated to appear. This piece, written before the putsch and rejected for publication by PRAVDA and by IZVESTIYA Editor Yefimov, was to have appeared in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 20 August. In it I said precisely that it must be taken into account that the apparatus, which is losing power, is capable of anything. Making up an extraordinary issue of the newspaper, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA Editor V. Fronin included the article in the issue. On the same day the guys from KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA interviewed me about the putsch. However, in the afternoon it came to light that the main youth newspaper had been banned.

I am speaking in such detail about my attempts to speak out on that day certainly not in order to confirm the notorious claim that "I was out there plowing." No, it was others who were doing the plowing. But there were hundreds and hundreds of people who were seeking to learn at least something of what was happening and to declare that this was a coup, a political crime, an act of lawlessness, and it was extremely important to define at least their personal position. On Tuesday I learned of the attempt by 11 chief editors of banned newspapers to put out the OBSHCHAYA GAZETA and answered questions from Yegor Yakovlev, the organizer of this initiative. Of course, the questions were about the putsch and my attitude to it. Also on Tuesday I gave a big television interview at the IAN Television Center especially for foreign and also, if possible, for Soviet television and radio companies. There I spoke about the coup's legal "basis," its very grave consequences for the country, and the need to free the USSR president. That television interview was sent to dozens of foreign television and radio companies. E.M. Sagalayev was trying to transmit it at least on VHF—I do not know what came of that.

[Taranov] But this was your personal opinion. What was preventing the Supreme Soviet Presidium from at once defining its attitude to the putsch?

[Laptev] As you know, Lukyanov had scheduled the first sitting of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium for 1600 on Wednesday 21 August. At approximately 1100 on 21 August he summoned Nishanov and myself and told us that he had demanded that the Ministry of Defense Collegium make a military aircraft available for a trip to Gorbachev. He had therefore given instructions for a CONFERENCE [capitalization as published] of Presidium members to be held.

But when the Presidium met it went against the "instruction" and practically unanimously, with one abstention, adopted the well-known resolution in point of fact outlawing the putschists and their decision. After that Nishanov and I set out together for Central Television and recorded the text of the adopted resolution. I will remind you of the chief thing in that document: All the decisions of the State Committee for the State of Emergency and of Yanayev were ruled invalid from the moment they were promulgated...

Yes, it was a belated action. Bitter though it may be to say so, the Presidium of the country's highest organ of power was able to show its worth only on the third day after the coup. I believe that this happened largely because the chairmen of the chambers were ignored not only by "the eight" but also by the head of the Union parliament. Thus, for example, when the leaders of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic put the well-known ultimatum to him on Tuesday, I learned of this only through calls from the editorial offices of certain newspapers. But I would not like to blame the Presidium's indecision just on the position or conduct of Lukyanov alone. It is obvious now that our supreme power is in need of serious reconstruction. An extraordinary session and the Congress of USSR People's Deputies will determine what it will be like.

[Taranov] These days a single question serves as an indicator of civic courage and simply ordinary human honesty: Were you or were you not on the barricades outside the Russian "White House"? Were you?

[Laptev] A fair question, as well as the axiom that a leader of any rank is obliged to be where things are most difficult. But it is also true that everywhere during such days you must strive to do all you can. Therefore let your question be answered by those hundreds of people—members of the Supreme Soviet, people's deputies, and journalists—who came to this office over the three days, some of them several times over. One question was heard: What's going on? And there was one answer: an anticonstitutional coup. And this alone determined at least to some extent the direction of actions. And people headed for the "White House," at 27 Prospekt Kalinina, where they set up action groups, and some began organizing committees for the protection of the USSR Constitution and democracy locally.

Here people shared not only opinions, news, and forecasts. Deputies, for example, phoned to get the full text of the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee statement, which made a precise juridical assessment of the putschists' actions but was abridged on publication.

I also knew exactly what was happening on the barricades. My daughter Natasha was there constantly throughout the three nights.

It was also an important fact that it was possible from right here, from this Kremlin office, to learn at once about the start of any mass repressions and to warn at least someone.

[Taranov] Incidentally, did you personally and your family feel fear of the putschists? Had things gone further, the cochairman of the Movement for Democratic Reforms would certainly have been arrested too...

[Laptev] There was no fear the way it is usually understood. Probably there simply was not time to be afraid. But it was not even a matter of ourselves. With our colleagues, deputies, and friends we discussed in earnest and tried to forecast when the "junta of eight" would start the mass arrests—on the streets, in homes, at rallies... There could be no hope that such an authority would be peaceful in character. Sooner or later the path of "emergency" measures, contrary to the laws and the opinion of the majority of the people, would lead it logically and inevitably to repressions. History has come up with nothing for putschists other than persecution of all free-thinking people who disagree.

[Taranov] What do you think the members of the State Committee for the State of Emergency were hoping to do by carrying out a coup d'etat? What was this—total ignorance of the people and the country which they were intending to govern?

[Laptev] Many of our leaders have such an illness. A hereditary illness. And it consists in the fact that they are convinced that they have only to sow something "sensible, good, and eternal" from above for it to instantly "germinate" among the people. Almost every chief considers himself an expert on the people's soul.

Not that there has been any lack of submission in Soviet history: The people went where they were told. But no one thought of whether "the masses" were going voluntarily or driven by fear. Today forcible compulsion is impossible.

The putschists did not reckon with the fact that tanks on the streets no longer inspire fear alone but also the perfectly valid question: These vehicles, guns, and missiles worth billions were, after all, made with OUR [in caps as published] money and our labor, at the expense of our already beggarly living standard. And why do they not defend us but crush us? I heard these questions on the Moscow streets. Muscovites were asking them of soldiers and officers who frequently agreed with their opponents.

[Taranov] You said that the majority of our leaders are "ill." But where are others to be found? Is the democratic movement, in particular, ready to nominate its own people to key leading posts? People free of the hereditary diseases of totalitarianism...

[Laptev] We intend and will act only through parliamentary means, winning particular mandates through an appeal to the people, through the voters. And there is no shortage of intelligence, honesty, and merit. Look, not one person left Yeltsin and his entourage during the difficult days of the putsch! Tremendous intellectual potential is beginning to concentrate in the democratic movement. We are being joined by outstanding scientists, outstanding cultural figures, and prominent economic planners, including among others the directors of defense enterprises. In short, there is no shortage of capable people who find the methods of Stalinism organically alien. But...

It is already perfectly clear today that it is time to embark on a fundamental change in the system. No, the danger has not passed, despite the universal joy. The origins of the putsch lay not in its executors and inspirers as such or in their personal qualities. The chief cause was the structure of power, the giant pyramid of power—one over all and everything—which reproduces opportunities for reactionary forces.

[Taranov] And a last point. Your interview will be published in the third issue after the change of "power" at IZVESTIYA. What do you think of the situation in the newspaper, of which you were chief editor for many years?

[Laptev] I would very much like IZVESTIYA to be able to assert itself in the initiatives of recent days. The actions of IZVESTIYA's collective are morally justified. Sooner or later the problem, which had been driven into a corner by machinations on a conductor's plane, had to be resolved.

I believe that the changes at IZVESTIYA, as throughout the country, will be irreversible. We will hope so and will work for this to the extent of our ability.

Coup Support in Foreign Ministry Viewed

LD2608174591 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russia 1535 GMT 26 Aug 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] I would like to tell you about another aspect of international foreign policy activity during these days. Our attention is drawn to this by today's edition of IZVESTIYA. The headline of the article by journalist Vladimir Nadein is: Many highly placed diplomats zealously carried out the instructions of the putschists.

According to a report from the RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY, on the basis of which the journalist writes his article, highly placed Soviet diplomat explains the feeble reaction from the governments of certain foreign countries—their wait-and-see attitude on the first day of the putsch that occurred in the Soviet Union—by the unseemly behavior of USSR ambassadors during those days. This diplomat, speaking anonymously, stated that practically all ambassadors and certain deputy foreign ministers obediently conveyed the messages of the State Committee for the State of Emergency to the leaders of the foreign policy departments and states where they were stationed. The reaction from representatives of the Soviet Embassy in Czechoslovakia, who resolutely condemned the plotters, was extremely atypical of the foreign-based staff of the USSR Foreign Ministry. This concerns, as you have probably guessed, the statement in Prague by Soviet Ambassador Boris Pankin and his colleagues.

'Vremya' Announcers' Behavior Criticized

LD2408154191 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2011 GMT 24 Aug 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] An address by the program's collective was read on "Vremya" today. The collective repents for having broadcast false information during the days of the coup and hopes that measures will be taken to ensure that in the future journalists are able to be objective whatever the situation. One might easily have been able to believe this repentance if this information had not been read by someone who introduced TSN ["Television News Service"] during the very first days after the former broadcast had been taken off; if the address itself had not been followed immediately by an item by Valeriy Bakarinov about Afghanistan veterans taking part in the defense of the House of the Soviets on the Krasnopresenskaya Naberezhnaya and the guys who died—the selfsame Bakarinov who from the very first day of the putsch actively supported the junta, both on screen and off; if the collective of the "Vremya" program as for example, the collective of "Vesti" had removed from the managmeent of the editorial office those people who did not find the strength to resist the pressure from Kravchenko or who willingly carried out his instructions; and finally if the "Vremya" program had carried information about Kravchenko having been removed from the post of chief of the all-Union television and radio program by a decree of Yeltsin. Let us therefore remember today how the Kravchenko television worked during the days of the putsch.

[Begin recording of clip from earlier "Vremya" program—Inna Yermilova reads statement] We are confident that our current difficulties are of a transitory nature and that the Soviet Union's contribution to maintaining peace and strengthening international security will continue to be weighty. The USSR leadership hopes that the temporary extraordinary measures will meet with the proper understanding from the peoples and governments and the United Nations. [Signed] Yanayev, acting president of the USSR [end recording]

[Correspondent] [video shows unidentified correspondent interviewing announcers Inna Yermilova and (?Yuriy Rostov]) Well, four days have now gone by, today is the fifth. [?Rostov] Yes, today is the fifth day.

[Correspondent] But it's still dreadful, isn't it?

[Yermilova] We were faced with a choice—either read, or don't read.

[?Rostov] We wouldn't read it, we wouldn't read it because it was impossible to read it.

[Correspondent] Very many people are now constantly asking, people are coming up to you on the streets, saying: How ever could the television announcers... Why didn't they refuse to read all of this?

[?Rostov] We thought about that, too. All right, let's say Inna had refused and I had refused...

[Yermilova] We could have made something up on the spot, you understand, and said I've got a bad heart, Yuriy's got a bad heart, and we could have tried that option but no doubt...

[?Rostov] Excuse me, but the Lukyanov text was handwritten. That's quite simply unprofessional. You don't read that kind of thing.

[Yermilova] But that's not the point. The fact is that we...

[?Rostov, interrupting] Yes, we could have refused, but they would have brought in some cheerful political officer and he would have dashed off all of these documents with unshakable faith in the shining future and enthusiasm. So what? In the first place you have to tell people what is going on, or what has been done. At least one has to report the facts. That is one side. But the main thing is that the whole dreadfulness, the whole nightmare of what was taking place had to be shown. It was a nightmare. People will understand.

[Yermilova] Everyone in the studio was shocked. The producers and cameramen, you understand, who showed understanding. It was important to find the correct intonation. It was important to find the feeling, you understand, that we wanted to convey. And how this turned out for Vera, the producer, who ran up saying: Look, folks, they're going to call me in now; if they say anything about the way in which you're reading, I'll say that you've lost your voices. When we came off the air after ten o'clock people began coming up to us saying: We understood everything.

[?Rostov] When I left after those programs I got on to the trolleybus and couldn't look people in the face. I had the feeling that I'd been playing around in the muck, you understand. I sit down with my head in my hands. I don't know whether I've done right or wrong, whether I've got through it or not. I'd forgotten everything, you understand.

[Yermilova] When you wake up in the morning you simply feel that you've had this dreadful dream and that it didn't really happen. It's only some time later that you realize it all did happen.

[?Rostov] Incidentally, you may remember that this thought occurred to us, the unreality of it all, as if it were some kind of mirage, some absurdity.

[Correspondent] I think the whole country had that feeling.

[Yermilova] Absolutely, absolutely.

[?Rostov] It can't be happening because it can't be happening.

[Yermilova] It simply cannot happen.

[?Rostov] I didn't think that our generation would have to endure this kind of thing.

[Yermilova] During these days I thought that for some reason or other every generation in our country has to face something of its own. My grandmother had to face the October Revolution and the civil war. My parents had to face the Great Patriotic War. We have had to face what is taking place now. I don't know what my son is going to have to face, what is going to be the lot of my grandson. No doubt that is something that depends on all of us.

Bovin Warns of Need To Strengthen Democracy

PM2508143291 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Aug 91 Union Edition p 1

["Political Diary" article by Aleksandr Bovin: "Victory! What Next?"]

[Text] The attempted coup d'etat has collapsed ignominiously. Or rather, it was crushed. Crushed first and foremost by Muscovites and Leningraders. Crushed by the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet. Crushed by people who only recently were being called "so-called democrats."

Victory always means a festival, joy, happy faces. But yesterday evening, when I heard the gun salvoes with which Russia saluted victory, I wondered: Is it premature? Because basically the social soil that bred the conspiracy, the problems, our troubles and griefs that the conspirators gambled on, the sentiments that helped them, and—most of all!—the people who helped and supported them—all this still remains, it is all around us.

True, we have won. But victory only provides a chance, an opportunity. Will we, will the leadership know how to take advantage of it? To learn our lessons? To rectify mistakes? These are far from rhetorical questions. We have heard so much bold talk, read so much about "measures for the future..." Could everything repeat itself?

I was very disturbed by the president's statement that he is "in control of the situation." Well, naturally he is in control, since Kryuchkov and Yazov have been arrested, the telephones are working, and the thinned-out ranks of all the president's men, including Lukyanov and Kravchenko, are showing every sign of loyalty and obedience.

But now, to be serious. Taking control of the situation means halting, stopping the spontaneous drifting of our country, our society. But it is still going on. Taking control of the situation means traveling the agonizing path of self-criticism, it means a great deal of reassessing, reinterpreting, and reworking. And that has hardly begun. And incidentally, that does not apply only to the president.

Every cloud has a silver lining. The three days that passed under the sign of the "SCSE" [State Committee for the State of Emergency] shook us all up and apparently made us sterner, more intolerant toward violations of democracy, more exacting. Maybe I am oversimplifying things, maybe I have "misunderstood," but what I want to say is: We have had enough of cowardly half-measures and unprincipled compromises, enough of deception and self-deception. Let us try to tell the harsh truth.

After all, it is a fact that ministers funked it, they were frightened, they ignominiously handed over power to the junta. After all, it is a fact that the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, equally ignominiously, in effect abolished itself and made not the slightest attempt to oppose the putschists. After all, it is a fact that publications like SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, DEN, and MOLODAYA GVARDIYA had prepared the ground for the coup ideologically and psychologically, with their entire content. As for Central Television, which prostituted itself in the service of all and sundry... So are we going to swallow all this? Or are we once again going to wait for wise decisions by the president and applaud them?

After all, ultimately the coup was possible precisely because its inspirers and executors were confident that all they had to do was shout and stamp their feet—and nothing would be left of perestroyka, democracy, glasnost. People will say to me: They miscalculated. Yes, but they were entitled to think the way they did, because the shoots of democracy and glasnost are too delicate and fragile.

It is said that legal, constitutional guarantees against coups are needed. No doubt. We must think about that. And about a clearer system of division of powers. And about profound, radical reforms of monsters like the Defense Ministry and the KGB. (Specifically, these departments should be headed not by marshals and professional intelligence or counterintelligence men, but by civilians, politicians.) And about reducing the weight of the military-industrial complex in society's life.

Much can and must be done. But all guarantees within the plane of improving the law, the institutions, and the state structures are conditional and relative. They make unconstitutional moves more difficult, but do not prevent them. The main guarantee, the decisive sector in the formation of a rule-of-law state, is new people, the people of perestroyka, and a real, effective widening of democracy in every conceivable sphere. Churchill has been quoted a thousand times. I will repeat it, for the thousand and first time. Democracy is a very inconvenient thing, he wrote, but mankind has yet to invent anything better. The fall of the junta and the people's victory provide a unique opportunity to make a leap forward in the cause of the democratization of social and political life. If we fail to do this, we will ruin everything.

Two concrete considerations.

The president's cadre policy has quite often caused perplexity. People reassured themselves thus: "Okay, the president knows better than us what kind of people are needed, after all, he has to work with these people." Now, I hope, this argument will no longer work. The Supreme Soviet and its commissions and committees should exercise tougher control over the appointments and reshuffles of officials, even in cases where this does not require formal approval by the Supreme Soviet. I say this with particular concern because the president's new appointments are prompting perplexed questions.

And another thing. Hitherto the chief editor of any newspaper or journalist has been a supporter [yedinomyshlennik]. It was more convenient for the people at the "top" that way. It was through the chief editors that day-to-day manipulation of the press was carried out. The editorial collegium had only a consultative voice. The chief editor's opinion was more weighty than the opinion of the entire editorial collegium. People at IZVESTIYA came up against this at the beginning of the week, when the (now!) former chief editor, claiming to know more than us, blocked all our attempts clearly to define the newspaper's stance and say "No!" to the junta.

The IZVESTIYA editorial collegium has censured N.I. Yefimov and relieved him of his post. But that is an isolated case. A general decision is needed. The press is not under command now, at least not like before. Therefore the next step must be taken. The editorial collegium leads the newspaper. The chief editor is first among equals, and no more. It would be useful to make a corresponding amendment to the Law on the Press.

The victory over the conspirators showed that we have grown more resolute and courageous. Now, if we are to ensure that three days in August are not followed by 33 days in December, we must prove that we have grown smarter.

Falin Defends CPSU Position During Coup

AU2608111791 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 26 Aug 91 pp 148-150

[Interview with CPSU Central Committee Secretary Valentin Falin by unidentified reporter; place and date not given: "Yeltsin Deserves the Gratitude of the Party"]

[Text] [DER SPIEGEL] Valentin Mikhailovich, this is the first time we have had to come through the back door in order to visit you. The front door is secured by barricades. What has happened?

[Falin] This is new for me, too; the barricades were not there yesterday. Obviously, these are precautionary measures, because there was a demonstration yesterday during which there were excesses. I assume these measures are only temporary.

[DER SPIEGEL] Yesterday one could still see from this building the monument of Lenin's intelligence chief Feliks Dzerzhinskiy on its pedestal. Last night it was toppled. Is something now missing in Moscow?

[Falin] Certainly. Many things from the past are missing. Whether it corresponds to the tradition of civilized countries to destroy all traces of the past during political changes is another question.

[DER SPIEGEL] The walls of this house also bear the slogan "CPSU before the court." Has the CPSU's day of reckoning now come?

[Falin] Over the past one-and-a-half years we have experienced a wave of anticommunism here far greater than elsewhere. A city councillor in Leningrad even said: "If one were to shoot all 19 million Communists"—at that time there were still that many—"hardly anyone would mind."

[DER SPIEGEL] If the new strongman of the Soviet Union, Boris Yeltsin, now dissolves the CPSU by decree, however, what will happen then?

[Falin] According to the law, this is possible only if a party violates the constitution and the valid law. Our constitution and the UN Human Rights Declaration expressly recognize the citizens' right to form parties and organizations. If one violates this right, this means that we are as far removed from the state based on the rule of law as before.

[DER SPIEGEL] The party has aroused the citizen's rage because it kept quiet about the attempted coup for a surprisingly long time. The people will not forget this easily.

[Falin] Please, do not confuse the people with some politicians who claim to act in the name of the people. Let us come to the point, however: The party had nothing to do with the coup. Only one Politburo member—Oleg Shenin—joined the plotters on his own behalf and without authorization by the Politburo or the Central Committee Secretariat. The Central Committee Secretariat did not get any answer from Shenin on the question of what happened or what should happen today or tomorrow. The party did not have any contact at all with any other putschists.

[DER SPIEGEL] But is it not strange that the party's general secretary and USSR state president was not politically saved by the party but by a man who had left the party?

[Falin] Yes, this is certainly somewhat strange.

[DER SPIEGEL] Does this not show resignation?

[Falin] I will not contradict you. But this can be explained by the fact that contact between the general secretary and the party has been weakened recently. There was no longer a regular link through which our No. 1 man could present his hopes, desires, and demands directly to the people in the party, on whose help he depended and who he knew would not betray him.

[DER SPIEGEL] And what did the Central Committee Secretariat do?

[Falin] The Secretariat had approximately the following position: So long as we do not know what happened, we cannot adopt a definitive position.

[DER SPIEGEL] Should the position of the Secretariat not have been: No matter what happened, the CPSU general secretary must not be overthrown by a coup?

[Falin] Of course; for us, the general secretary remained the general secretary. We also said this in our statement. We as a party had not dismissed him from his duties; but we did not know his standpoint. Therefore, Deputy General Secretary Vladimir Ivashko was supposed to get an explanation about his position on emergency measures or whether he had given his deputy the power to take over the president's duties on a provisional basis.

Therefore, Ivashko demanded of Gennadiy Yanayev that he be taken to Gorbachev in a special plane. The answer was: No.

[DER SPIEGEL] How did the putschists justify their refusal?

[Falin] They said that Ivashko need not meet with Gorbachev because the matter was a matter of state and not a party issue. The Secretariat's demand for an immediate meeting between Ivashko and Mikhail Gorbachev was published immediately so that the party's position became clear to everyone.

[DER SPIEGEL] So much for the party. Now, concerning the army: Did it not obey the putschists because they acted with such a lack of resolution and skill or did the attitude of the army for its part make the putschists indecisive?

[Falin] You know, when I think back to these facts I must say: Of course, this was a drama as regards the danger that existed and the consequences that resulted. But the implementation was an operetta, a cheap amateur game.

[DER SPIEGEL] Was the originating mind of the whole thing among the eight members of the Emergency Committee or did he come from outside?

[Falin] He was certainly among them, but I do not want to participate in speculations about who he was.

[DER SPIEGEL] Can you follow the way of thinking of the putschists?

[Falin] For that purpose one has to look at the situation of the country, the economic crisis, and the legal insecurity. The mood among the people is very critical toward the president as well. During the putsch, however, the people were very worried that a new wave of Stalinism might be in the offing; and this concern was the most important thing in the end.

[DER SPIEGEL] Eduard Shevardnadze offered a disquieting version of the coup: The general secretary might perhaps not only have been a victim but also a perpetrator, that is, he might have staged the whole thing. Is this as crazy as it sounds?

[Falin] Shevardnadze's theory has not yet been discussed extensively during our talks. Apparently, however, there were objective signs that the general secretary needed medical aid. The bits and pieces of facts probably were the excuse for various interpretations. I repeat: In the way Shevardnadze put it, it was a conspiracy for which the roles were distributed and...

[DER SPIEGEL] ... in which the victim was also a perpetrator...

[Falin] ...we have not discussed the matter. So many questions remained unanswered for us at that time: What does the general secretary think? What happened today, and why did it not happen yesterday or the day before yesterday? Thus, we thought that first the facts had to be put on the table before conclusions could be drawn.

[DER SPIEGEL] Is Gorbachev not responsible for the coup to the extent that he himself chose most of the people who betrayed him?

[Falin] This question indirectly aims at the character of Mikhail Gorbachev, whom I like very much. Unfortunately, talented people are often very contradictory. If they trust somebody, they often do not check whether this trust is justified and give too much power to the person in question.

[DER SPIEGEL] Why did the general secretary permit the attempted exclusion by the party Control Commission of such an old friend as Aleksandr Yakovlev, who therefore left the party on his own?

[Falin] This is a very sad personal experience for me. I have known Aleksandr Nikolayevich for a very long time and have done many things together with him, in foreign policy for instance. Using an allegory, he says about himself that he is not a boxer who accepts blows easily. If somebody hurts him, he reacts emotionally and feels left alone by everybody, even by the president.

[DER SPIEGEL] Why did the general secretary not tell the party Control Commission that it should not treat Yakovlev in this way?

[Falin] Because the party Control Commission is not subordinate to the general secretary. It acted against Shevardnadze in a similar way. Yakovlev was the second case of a sovereign decision by this Commission.

[DER SPIEGEL] Yakovlev told us that now every member of the CPSU must ask himself whether he still can stay in this party. Gorbachev, on the other hand, stated again that he still believes that the party can be reformed. What do you believe?

[Falin] You remember the Central Committee plenum of April 1991, where Gorbachev put up his office for disposition. On the next day he told me privately: "Valentin, what a difficult day we had yesterday." My answer was: "Mikhail Sergeyevich, there is nothing evil without there being something good."

For the first time since Lenin's death the topic of the general secretary is no longer a taboo. This I see as a true sign that the party is changing.

[DER SPIEGEL] Thus, you are optimistic?

[Falin] No, I am not optimistic; at the moment I am even very skeptical when I see, for instance, how people are trying to link this party with the coup. These attempts are so massive that I would not dare to make any forecasts about what might happen tomorrow. However, it would be a tragedy if this party were denied the opportunity of becoming a democratic party.

[DER SPIEGEL] The party has had enough time to become democratic.

[Falin] You will admit that many things have happened. The reform process was initiated and pushed ahead by people from the party.

[DER SPIEGEL] After this end to the coup do you not fear that Yeltsin, the popular hero, who has become strong, might now commit excesses?

[Falin] During this week Yeltsin has shown himself from a very positive side. Why should I not say this, even though my relations with him are very differentiated. Yeltsin was a leading figure when the issue was making the coup fail.

[DER SPIEGEL] Would you also agree with the statement that he was the decisive figure that caused the coup to fail?

[Falin] Yes, certainly. Yeltsin also deserves the gratitude of the party which he left.

Dzasokhov Denies Pressuring TASS

LD2608181291 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1400 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] In an interview with a RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY correspondent, CPSU Secretary Aleksandr Dzasokhov denied the TASS leadership's accusations that he allegedly put personal pressure on the agency to recognize the State Committee for the State of Emergency. According to Dzasokhov, the leadership of the Party of Soviet Communists took no actions due to the lack of information on what was happening to the president. Speaking about the party's future, Dzasokhov pointed out that most profound changes are awaiting it. According to the secretary, out of 15 million communists, only 1 million would stay in the party ranks.

KGB Guard Chief Medvedev Discusses Putsch

LD2608175591 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 26 Aug 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Excerpts] The eight are already giving evidence; meanwhile, we are learning the surnames of every new conspirators and their overt and covert accomplices. The activities of many others in the president's closest entourage are being clarified, and here, perhaps, the most mysterious figure is Vadim Medvedev. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] His face is known by millions. He is the personal adjutant and chief of the guard of general secretaries and presidents: General Medvedev. This is what he says. [video shows unidentified correspondent walking in conversation with Medvedev along a path lined with beech trees]

[Medvedev] Based completely on the information I had at my disposal, I fulfilled everything demanded of me.

[Correspondent] That is, you fulfilled your orders.

[Medvedev] Yes.

[Correspondent] All clear.

[Medvedev] Thank you. Thank you. That is all.

[Video shows closeup of reporter talking to Medvedev, captioned "Medvedev, V.T.: former chief of the USSR president's guard, KGB major general"; shot of Medvedev shaking hands vigorously with the correspondent before turning to a dark red Lada Samara; shot of the car moving along a street, followed by a patrol car with its light flashing; shot of the car parked in an urban area, with Medvedev in the driver's seat writing in a notebook; shot of Medvedev entering Lyubyanka, where his passport is checked by a guard in a corridor before he makes his way to a door with the number "763" on it, knocks, enters, and closes it behind him.]

[Correspondent] What is actually happening? What does Vadim Timofeyevich have to face?

[V.V. Ivanenko, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Committee of State Security] We are interested in Vadim Timofeyevich simply as a witness, as an eyewitness of the events at the beginning of the putsch. The Russian Procuracy has several questions for him, I emphasize, as a witness. According to my information, so to speak, this does not constitute any criticism of him. [video shows medium shot of Ivanenko talking to camera from behind a desk]

[Correspondent] What happened? What happened there?

[Medvedev] The main thing was how everything was; how all this group arrived; how I led them there; how they talked there; how they then took me from (Plekhanov) and transported me by plane to Moscow.

[Correspondent] That is, they gave a command?

[Medvedev] Yes.

[Correspondent] That is, you, Vadim Timofeyevich, couldn't...

[Medvedev, interrupting] I did not know why they arrived. No information was given to me. No. They arrived and said: Report to Mikhail Sergeyevich that a group has arrived for talks with him.

[Correspondent] You weren't inside with them?

[Medvedev] Inside? With them? No. I came and reported to Mikhail Sergeyevich that a group arrived. He said: Why? Where from? I said that I hadn't a clue. That was everything.

[Correspondent] After this, what did they do to you? Did they show you instructions? Or did you receive some kind of order?

[Medvedev] That was (Plekhanov) already...

[Correspondent, interrupting] Gave an order...

[Medvedev, interrupting] Said, you gather your things and go home. The general is staying here in your place, and we are taking you. I said that I couldn't do this. He said that this was the instruction of Kryuchkov, my instruction. I said that, anyway, I don't believe words. They wrote an order, after which I gathered my things and went. That is all.

[Correspondent] You were here, in Moscow?

[Medvedev] I arrived. My father and mother are ill. I asked for permission to go to them.

[Correspondent] The entire 72 hours of the coup?

[Medvedev] I returned on 21 August and rang about the fact it had been said that Mikhail Sergeyevich was coming back. I put on my coat and went to meet him.

[Correspondent] There should now be some kind of decision?

[Medvedev] The procuracy is sorting it out now. [video shows Medvedev talking to a correspondent outside the RSFSR procuracy] [end recording]

Group Taking Over CPSU Property Meets

LD2608214191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 26 Aug 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The commission to implement the presidential decree on the property of the CPSU got down to work in Moscow today.

[Correspondent A. Gerasimov] For the first time in the past 73 years, the party leadership has found itself accountable to the municipal authorities. The workers of the administration in charge of the affairs of the CPSU Central Committee, headed by former Komsomol leader Viktor Mishin, had to sit and listen to the vice mayor of Moscow, something which could never have come to them in a nightmare. Yuriy Luzhkov accused the party's leadership of attempting to establish a party-military dictatorship in the country. This was the reason for the enforced idleness of the over 2,500 employees of the apparatus of the CPSU Central Committee which, according to Mishin, does not feel itself guilty of anything.

Yuriy Luzhkov said that, as of today, virtually all the property of the Central Committee has been taken under protection, and bank accounts have been blocked. The vice mayor asked for party dachas, recreation centers, and a sanatorium to be released as quickly as possible. There is still no legal basis for the transfer of the property of the CPSU into other hands, but the commission has already made arrangements for who is going to get what. For example, the Central Committee's motor pool should belong to the city and become a rival of city transport. As Luzhkov reported, all the offices and buildings of the Central Committee have been opened up, including the bank where the president of the country normally received his salary.

Furthermore, these sequences have been shown on the Vremya program for the first time. Journalists today stormed the network of buildings of the CPSU Central Committee. Aleksandr Sokolov, the commandant of the party headquarters, former party member, and now a Moscow City Soviet deputy, arranged an excursion to what was once the holy of holies of our country. As the commandant said, order is being maintained here, but there is little security. A symbol of party and state authority was found the other day—an underground passage from the old square to the Kremlin. And in this building are stored the party archives.

[Begin recording] [R. Pikhoya, chairman of the Archive Affairs Committee of the RSFSR Council of Ministers—captioned] We must guarantee a certain order for their use. At the moment a whole number of enthusiasts who want to know about the past will be rushing here, but I will be absolutely convinced that a good half of the readers are people who will want to get in so as to destroy documents. [end recording]

[Gerasimov] It would appear that the order which has been established on the territory of the CPSU Central Committee will help to preserve the remaining part of the archives. The last truck carrying papers left the Central Committee on Friday morning.

TASS Editors Voice No Confidence in Board

LD2708092491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0857 GMT 27 Aug 91

["Statement by Collective of TASS Foreign Staff"—TASS headline]

[Text] [no dateline as received] The collective of the main TASS foreign news editorial office expresses support for the intiative group which has come forward with a plan for fundamental reform to be carried out, aimed at setting up a new TASS—an independent news agency guided only by the law and the principles of freedom of speech and democracy.

The TASS foreign staff condemn the political line taken by the TASS leadership during the course of the whole perestroyka period and state that they have no confidence in the TASS board.

We call on all TASS workers to join the struggle for the transformation of TASS into an independent agency and on all power bodies, journalists' boards and democratically minded political and public figures to support our plans and actions which are directed toward the development and strengthening of the principles of freedom for the press in our country.

TV Journalists Favor Independent News Service

LD2608224491 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2035 GMT 26 Aug 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] At the end of this bulletin, I want to acquaint you with a statement by a group of journalists from Central TV's news programs.

One of the lessons of the coup was that the continued existence of the Television and Radio Company with its exclusive franchise to broadcast television and radio programs is no longer possible. It is equally impossible to continue to deprive citizens of their right to obtain and choose information and its sources. For the time being, this TV source is the only one. The putschists who seized power used it is a powerful mouthpiece for their ideas; therefore we, an action group of journalists from the TV News Programs studio, declare that it is essential to immediately set up an independent news service with rights as a legal person, within the structure of the All-Union State TV and Radio Broadcasting Company and on the basis of the TV News Service. In its work, it would be strictly guided by the Constitution and USSR laws on the press and other media. We appeal for assistance in the creation of such a service to the Presidents of the Soviet Union and Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic as well as the supreme soviets of the country and Russia, because such a proposal can only be realized with their permission and full support. A similar statement was made today by the editorial board of Russian Television's Vesti bulletin.

Radio, TV Journalists To Hold Meeting 27 Aug

LD2708084791 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1454 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Interview with Yevgeniy Grachev, "prominent Soviet radio and television comentator on international affairs," by unidentified announcer—live]

[Text] [Announcer] For a long time, and especially during the putsch of course, the journalists of All-Union Radio had to work under tremendous stress. Suddenly 150 members of Mayak, electrical engineers, and some journalists from other departments, came to the end of their tether. How did this happen, and what will happen tomorrow [words indistinct].

[Grachev] Yes,tomorrow. Good day esteemed comrades, esteemed listeners. Good day Igor, or maybe we ought to switch to the informal address since we have known each other for so many years— [pereydem na ty]

[Announcer] Fine.

[Grachev] This is what is going on. We did indeed have to work under tremendous pressure. It would be incorrect to say that we did nothing, although we could have done more. I do not consider that now is the time to identify what was or was not done, and the most important thing is the position, the stance that we adopted at the very outset. Mayak has always taken a stand on all aspects of life. This applies also to the terrible days during which we were cut off from our viewers and listeners.

We were cut off for the most basic of reasons: our building was encircled by paratroopers, APCs or armored reconnaissance vehicles. I did not get a good look at them because they were concealed in bushes. The paratroopers, however, were checking our ID's on entry into the building.

But this is not the point. Tomorrow we want to once again issue a statement about the following: During the putsch the so-called Declaration of the 150 became known among journalists.

[Announcer] I know that those behind the Declaration were in the Mayak international department, yourself in particular.

[Grachev] Well, yes, the entire international department, more or less everyone who was working during those days and who, heeding the appeal of the democratic Russian leadership to resort to civil disobedience, that was when we issued the Declaration. [sentence as heard] There were many of us—it was signed by 150,—while it is difficult now to say how many organized it, maybe 10, then the number began to grow. It ended up with our colleagues at TSN [Television News Service] finding out about it—they have to work in conditions that are just as tough and do not possess their own airtime—they came over to us and signed this Declaration. I will not read the Declaration; during those days it was of significance, it may not be now perhaps. The gist of it was that we refuse to carry out the instructions of our management, meaning that of Gosteleradio USSR, and demand its replacement. We also expressed our support for all the democratic forces in the country.

[Announcer] And tomorrow, what will be happening?

[Grachev] Tomorrow we would like to call all employees of Gosteleradio to a gathering in the Ostankino concert studio, where we will be able to work out our shared stance, affirm our allegiance to the principles set forth in the Declaration of the 150, and propose that the entire structure of the All-Union State Company for the Television and Radio Service be reviewed, because during these three days in August we realized that we are not in a position to perform our civic duty as journalists within the system that still exists. Particular attention needs to be paid to the issue of establishing channels for legal protection, which is the most important, for the company as a whole and also for each of its employees from encroachments by state, party, or whatever kind of authority. This is what will be going on tomorrow.

[Announcer] My thanks to Yevgeniy Grachev, journalist on international affairs at Mayak. Thank you for coming and telling our listeners about this, because Mayak has lots of listeners, Radio Rossii is gaining more every day. We will be cooperating. Let us work together.

[Grachev] Let us work together. We have not met since the war in the Gulf.

Poll Shows 74 Percent Welcome End of Coup

OW2708070391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0631 GMT 27 Aug 91

[INTERFAX "Viewpoint"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text]**THE LIFTING OF THE STATE OF EMERGENCY**

According to the "Data" news agency, an opinion poll taken by the National Public Opinion Studies Center in August 24-25 among 1155 residents of 14 Russian cities showed that 74 percent of respondents had welcomed the lifting of the state of emergency.

7 percent felt sorrow.

13 percent felt indifferent. 6 could not answer.

Margin of error—3 percent.

WHO ARE THE STATE OF EMERGENCY COMMITTEE'S MEMBERS?

The same poll asked the respondents about their attitude to the members of the State of Emergency Committee.

76 percent consider them state criminals.

8 percent abstained from such evaluation.

16 percent could not answer.

WHO SUPPORTED THE PLOTTERS?

32 percent of the respondents said the State of Emergency Committee had been supported by politically inept people.

13 percent pointed to adepts of real socialism.

12 percent indicated those who wanted to restore order in this country.

3 called those who had supported the plotters "authentic patriots."

9 percent said there had not been supporters of the SEC in the Soviet Union.

32 percent found it difficult to answer.

New Defense Minister Shaposhnikov Interviewed

LD2408105291 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0530 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Interview with Air Force Colonel General Yevgeniy Ivanovich Shaposhnikov, newly appointed USSR Defense minister, by unidentified correspondents in Moscow on 23 August—recorded]

[Correspondent] Your point of view on the role and place of the USSR Armed Forces in the life of the country and the political life of the country?

[Shaposhnikov] As you know I left the party for two primary reasons. The first reason: Under the conditions of a multiparty system the Army must be free of political parties and organizations of every kind and serve Soviet law, the Soviet Constitution, and its fatherland. The second aspect is that when those black days began—unfortunately, perhaps, I do not know but at least I did not see any of the top party leadership being where nonparty member Yeltsin was, being where Rutskoy was, a man expelled from the party—they climbed onto armored vehicles and called upon the Soviet people and the people of Moscow, upon the servicemen of the Armed Forces, not to allow bloodshed. That is a great example for very many party functionaries. Proceeding from this, in this, I believe, is the whole quintessence of my political appraisal, so to speak, of the role and significance of the Army in society. It is the constitution, the law, it is the homeland, these are the general functions. I will never permit our Soviet Army to be used against the Soviet people.

[Correspondent] How did you receive... how did you feel?

[Shaposhnikov] Early in the morning on 19 August—at 0430—I received a signal from the central command point telling me to report to the hall of the collegium of the Ministry of Defense by 0600. I arrived at 0600. There Yazov, the former defense minister, informed us that the situation in the country had become more complicated, that President Gorbachev was sick, that Yanayev, the vice president, had taken upon himself the functions of acting president, that extraordinary measures were needed to impose order, and we would act in accordance with this. From the very first seconds of that statement, I'll tell you frankly, I felt uncomfortable. But I didn't know with whom I should talk. The situation was complicated. The first person to whom I expressed my view was Admiral Kapitanets, first deputy commander in chief of the Navy. I said: Ivan Matveyevich I don't like any of this. He agreed with me and we left each other for own places of work. On the first day I issued instructions and summed up the general situation and directed my main efforts toward ensuring that our Air Force didn't commit any unlawful actions. And I tried to talk and did talk with some members of the collegium.

And from these conversations it was becoming clear to me that it was difficult for me to find allies. Well, the fact is that at that time people were not completely open, because I do not have the right to think that there were no people who thought differently from me. Although obviously there were.

And when the situation deteriorated completely on the afternoon of 20 August I decided to go to the defense minister. There, one to one, I told him that it was necessary to leave this situation with dignity. He said to me: Is there really a way out with dignity? I said" There is. What? It is necessary to return the troops to their barracks now. It is necessary to disband, break up, declare this committee illegal, transfer power to the Supreme Soviet, and return the president. At this point collegium members entered, our conversation ended on this note, the defense minister told me to be vigilant, and I was free to go.

I returned to my office, and tried to get General Ochalov who did not answer, then the defense minister who did not answer either, and I got hold of Grachev, hero of the Soviet Union and commander of the airborne forces. We spoke for a long time together. As a result of our conversations I understood that he held the same opinions as me. And we agreed, under threat of death not to carry out any instructions which could lead to irreperable actions. We worked out several scenarios in this regard if any instructions were to come. There was a plan for seizing the junta, and other scenarios, and more terrible ones for us and all the rest. We understood each other. I told the Russian parliament, as regards the airborne forces and the Air Force, you can rest assured that we will not undertake any actions, and we will try to do everything so that other troop detachments do not participate in this adventure.

Of this group of people, the so-called SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency], they did not dare to do any of these terrible things. I express my sympathy to the families and relatives of our dead Muscovites and to people close to them. They died heroically defending our Russian parliament building. I bring an apology for the careless, in certain case illegal, actions of certain units of the Armed Forces.

In the morning there was a session of the Defense Ministry Collegium and we all unanimously said that this must be stopped and the troops withdrawn. I agreed with this scenario. Such an order was issued and the general danger passed. You know how events developed further.

So what is my evaluation of the actions of the Armed Forces? I want to say that the Armed Forces as a whole are no longer the same as they were five years ago, like the whole Soviet people. I think that our life has become more democratic since 1985 like streams flowing into a large river. And now this democratic river is a large torrent. And this group of people were on a small island in this torrent and thought it could hold on and leave the island and make a dam.

It did not manage it and it will not manage it.

[Correspondent] It is necessary to understand (?the responsibility of the party committees in this).

[Shaposhnikov] I think that is true. We are not going to rush this process. It is necessary to go into this with every party committee. Every communist has the right to decide for himself what to do.

The main thing that I would like to say is that among the party officials there is quite a large number of decent people. I would like to request everyone not to organize any witch hunts against them. It is necessary to provide them with work and with Army posts and so on. Well, of course those who are, so to say, fundamentalists who do not understand the current state of affairs, I think that a place will be found for them, too, but not in our combat formations.

Here is an interesting point: I received a telephone call from Comrade Sobchak who asked me to convey a messsage to the president about General Samsonov, commander of the Leningrad Military District. Thanks to the fact that Samsonov was in charge, not a single combat unit entered the city. He maintained his self-possession, he retained his devotion to his constitutional duty.

[Correspondent] What will be the fate of the top command staff and what will happen in connection with those events that took place?

[Sheposhnikov] At present I do not wish to name any names because this would be, to say the least, not serious. But we shall look into every person, every district commander, every member of the military collegium on all these questions. We do not support the unleashing of a witch hunt because among them there are many decent people. Even in that situation when in Leningrad, say, it seems that there is something not clear there, with Comrade Samsonov, say, the opinion of the local authorities will be taken into account with regard to each person. And I think that such people as this State of Emergency Committee will also amount to a pitifully small handful, a very small number. Because, on the whole, the leadership of the Armed Forces is mature and healthy and understands all the questions of democratization and all the processes that are under way in our country.

The Soviet Army is virtually totally innocent before the Soviet people. And I would like once again to assure the Soviet people that as long as I am defense minister our country's Armed Forces will never, under any circumstances, be used against its own people.

IZVESTIYA Interview

PM2508173091 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Aug 91 Union Edition p 2

[Interview with USSR Defense Minister Colonel General Ye. Shaposhnikov by IZVESTIYA correspondent N.

Burbyga—date, place not stated: "USSR Defense Minister Colonel General Ye. Shaposhnikov: The Armed Forces Will Never, In Any Circumstances, Be Used Against Their Own People"]

[Text] Exactly a year ago our newspaper introduced this man in connection with his appointment to the post of Air Force commander in chief. And now he is USSR defense minister.

A brief reminder. Yevgeniy Ivanovich Shaposhnikov was born in 1942, in the village of Bolshoy Log in Aksayskiy Rayon, Rostov Oblast. His father died at the front a week before the end of the war. Shaposhnikov has three children.

The first question your correspondent asked was, how did the coup d'etat begin in our country?

[Shaposhnikov] Early in the morning of 19 August the then Defense Minister Yazov informed us that the situation in the country had become complex, that USSR President Gorbachev was ill, that Yanayev, the vice president, had begun to fulfill the duties of the USSR president, and that emergency measures were needed, and that we would act accordingly.

We went to our respective work places. I spent the first day studying the situation and giving instructions that our aviation should not undertake any unlawful actions.

When the situation deteriorated on 20 August, I tried to contact Deputy Minister General Achalov, who did not answer my telephone call. I finally managed to contact Gen. Grachev, Hero of the Soviet Union and commander of the Airborne Troops. He and I talked for a long time. And we agreed, on pain of death, not to fulfill orders that could lead to irremediable consequences. We formulated several options in the event of criminal orders being issued.

[Burbyga] What options?

[Shaposhnikov] Seizing the junta. And other options that would have more terrible consequences for us and for them...

After that I reported to the Russian parliament that the airborne troops and the Air Force would take no action, and that we would try to ensure that others would do nothing either, would not participate in that adventure.

And indeed, no one on the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency] dared to undertake more terrible actions. I would like to take this opportunity through your newspaper to express condolences with the friends and relatives of those who died. I apologize for the wrongful actions of part of the Armed Forces.

In the morning there was a session of the Defense Ministry collegium, at which we all came out in favor of putting an end to it and withdrawing the troops. The order was given, and the danger passed. You know how events developed after that.

I wish to say that the Armed Forces in general were not the same as they were five years ago. But that is true of the whole of our people. I am glad that the Armed Forces did not go along with the conspirators.

[Burbyga] Yevgeniy Ivanovich, why have you left the party and what is your attitude to Armed Forces party organizations?

[Shaposhnikov] I left the party for two reasons. Under multiparty conditions the Army must serve the law, the constitution, and the Fatherland. That is the first reason. The second is that when the black days began, I saw no one from the party leadership standing against lawlessness, against the unconstitutional SCSE, alongside Yeltsin, a nonparty person, and Rutskoy, who had recently been expelled from the party...

I believe that in the Army there should be no parties which could drag it in different directions. I repeat: We should serve the constitution, the law, and our Motherland.

[Burbyga] Therefore the fate of the party committees is predetermined...

[Shaposhnikov] We will not accelerate this process artificially. It will be necessary to look into every party committee. As for the Communists, every Communist must decide for himself what to do... They will not be persecuted. They must be provided with work and sevice in the Army. Work will, I think, also be found for the fundamentalists who do not understand the times we are living in today. But outside our combat formations.

[Burbyga] Was there a danger of the unsanctioned use of nuclear weapons during those days?

[Shaposhnikov] There was no danger. We could not have come to that...

[Burbyga] Which of your generals have you removed already for fulfilling SCSE decisions?

[Shaposhnikov] The USSR president has relieved Colonel General Kalinin, commander of the Moscow Military District, of his duties. We are not in favor of unleashing a witch-hunt. We will look into the specific case of each commander and member of the military collegium. The opinion of local soviets will be taken into account in each case. A. Sobchak called me today and asked me to report to the USSR president about General Samsonov, commander of the Leningrad District, who rose to the occasion, and not a single combat vehicle entered the city. He remained true to his constitutional duty. We will take that into account.

[Burbyga] What state is the Army in now?

[Shaposhnikov] When I arrived in this office I asked for reports from all the district and fleet commanders. They all reported to me that the troops are engaged in their training as planned. I asked them to carry out explanatory work to the effect that in the main the Armed Forces remained true to the constitution and president of the country. The situation in the Armed Forces is stable, and there is no cause for concern on their account.

Today I signed a brief appeal to the servicemen of the Armed Forces. The crux of it is to remain calm and engage in the planned combat training.

I wish to assure my people that while I am defense minister our country's Armed Forces will never, in any circumstances, be used against their own people.

[Burbyga] Yevgeniy Ivanovich, is it possible that any of the generals who supported the putschists could commit a threatening act, and press the button of a missile complex?

[Shaposhnikov] You can rule that out. I am certain that that will not happen.

Shaposhnikov on Military Cadre Renewal

LD2508200591 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Interview with Lieutenant General Yevgeniy Ivanovich Shaposhnikov, new USSR defense minister, by correspondent A. Parfenenkov; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Parfenenkov] Lieutenant General Yevgeniy Ivanovich Shaposhnikov is 49 years old. He was commander in chief of the Air Force. Comrade General, what is your evaluation of the state of the Armed Forces in these worrying days?

[Shaposhnikov] At present, the Ministry of Defense has taken all steps to ensure that the situation in the Armed Forces is stable and calm. The main thing is for us not to run to extremes, to have no witch-hunts, and not to accuse both those who, well, were following orders, and those who did not fulfill them. And, at the present time, the basis is to ensure that in their milieu, the officers' collectives are united and under control. And we are now exerting all efforts to ensure that this is precisely the situation that exists in the Armed Forces, and I want to assure the Soviet people that all steps have been taken to ensure that there is no unsanctioned use of the Armed Forces.

I want to say that at present, many complaints are being received from officers and from officers' collectives: it is difficult to go around in uniform, that is, people are accusing the whole Soviet Army, denigrating all officers of this coup d'etat, and moreover, lists are being published, and these lists contain specific names, and they are all being accused of being criminals. I want to say that behind every name there is a family, wives, and children. The mass media should not get carried away with these lists. If we want to live in a legal state, we should tackle these matters only in a civilized way. And until the law-enforcement bodies have proven involvement in crime, no one has the right to call an individual a criminal.

[Perfenikov] Tell me please, how will the system of political bodies in the Army change?

[Shaposhnikov] You know, I want to say that departyization and depoliticization of the Armed Forces is not schism. We have approached this matter in a very balanced way. I would also like to warn and request that here too there should be a very serious approach, because among political workers, and party workers—the majority are decent Soviet people who successfully fulfilled their duty. I would like to say that officers of political bodies and officers of party bodies should not suffer for their fate. All who are worthy of serving, will serve, we will find them work.

Today I was speaking with the Russian parliamentarians and had support of all kinds in this matter.

[Parfenikov] New people have now appeared in the Ministry of Defense. How are you going about selecting cadres? [Shaposhnikov] Well, first and foremost, I do not conceal the fact, let's put it like this, that the command will be renewed by 80 percent. People should be younger than they were. People should be more devoted, and people should be incapable of anti-constitutional feats, so to speak. This is the principle according to which we will select them. There should be no personal allegiance here but business-like and most high moral qualities.

[Parfenikov] To serve the law, serve the constitution and serve the fatherland?

[Shaposhnikov] Only in this manner.

Shaposhnikov Resigned From CPSU 22 Aug

PM2508131791 Moscow TRUD in Russian 24 Aug 91 p 1

[Report by Yu. Dmitriyev: "The Commander in Chief Bids Farewell to the Party"]

[Text] Bolshaya Pirogovka, 23 Aug—An unusual officers' meeting was held at the Air Force Main Staff here yesterday. It was devoted to events associated with the attempted coup d'etat in the USSR. Airmen spoke with indignation of the criminal actions by the plotters, including some military leaders. Colonel General of Aviation Ye.I. Shaposhnikov, Air Force commander in chief, announced his resignation from the C[SU's ranks. His deputies did the same.

A telephone call from the Kremlin was received in the commander in chief's office the same day. He was invited to a meeting with USSR President M.S. Gorbachev, at which his appointment as USSR defense minister was announced. When the general told the president that he had only just resigned from the CPSU's ranks, Mikhail Sergeyevich replied:

"This is totally irrelevant. Start performing your new duties. I wish you successes..."

New KGB Chairman Bakatin Addresses Muscovites

LD2408091791 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0807 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Text] We have received an address signed by Vadim Viktorovich Bakatin, chairman of the USSR state KGB. I will acquaint you with its contents:

Dear Muscovites! Taking up the office of chairman of the USSR KGB, I would like to speak to you to express my delight at the courage you have shown in defending democracy. Without your selfless support, the whole country could have once again been cast into the abyss of totalitarianism and lawlessness. In this struggle there have been victims, and we must do everything to ensure that they are the last ones on the difficult path of the rebirth of the fatherland and the reaffirmation of democracy and ideals common to all mankind. The reaction did not succeed. The culprits will receive their deserved punishment.

However, in recent days, the people's anger has frequently switched from the group of irresponsible adventurists to the whole personnel of the KGB. This is being manifested in picketing of the KGB building, attempts to seize it, and calls for physical reprisals. Certain people are bursting into the operational archives of the KGB and are frequently persuing extremely unseemly objectives, the address goes on to say.

I ask you, Comrade Bakatin appeals to Muscovites, to show restraint and not submit to your emotions, instigatory and provocative calls. There must not be another outburst of lawlessness and anarchy. I am sure that there exist all possibilities for the bodies of the KGB to serve exclusively the interests of the people, and for their no longer becoming the obedient tool of a criminal policy.

I ask for your support—that is how this address of Vadim Viktorovich Bakatin, chairman of the USSR KGB, to Muscovites ends.

MVD Minister Appeals for 'Justice', 'Legality'

LD2508201191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 25 Aug 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Today, we received an appeal by Barannikov, USSR minister of internal affairs. It says:

The attempted coup d'etat undertaken by a handful of conspirators placed the country on the verge of national catastrophe. We have been clearly convinced that under the guise of demogagic arguments about order and legality all constitutional norms were cynically cast aside and human rights were violated in the most crude fashion, even as far as the most sacred right, the right to life.

On taking up my office as Minister of Internal Affairs of the USSR, on the instruction of USSR President Gorbachev, I am addressing words of gratitude and appreciation to the workers of the internal affairs organs and the servicemen of the internal troops who remained by their people to the end and did not tarnish themselves with violence or other unlawful actions.

The plot has been smashed. The state criminals will bear the most severe responsibility. But it would be a profound error to think that with this the problems of ensuring law and order and legality in the country have come to an end. Everyday, painstaking, professional and efficient work is necessary in order to bring back people's faith in law and justice and to create confidence that a return to totalitarianism, arbitrariness and physical and moral terror is impossible.

Today, I am addressing to all honest and healthy forces in the Internal Affairs organs a categorical demand that they do not permit lawlessness and that they stand firmly in the way of those who are prepared to commit mob law and reprisals against citizens for their adherence to political organizations which have tarnished themselves, or against those who did not find the courage to raise a voice of protest, at a severe moment of trial, against the organizers of the coup. We should be motivated not by a feeling of vengeance but by an aspiration to justice and legality.

Serious and practical work is really needed to strengthen law and order in the country. We must immediately, and in strict accordance with the law, adopt all measures within our powers to defend the rights, honor, virtue and legitimate interests of citizens and of the Constitutional order. We must take in hand the operational situation everywhere and ensure reliable public order in towns and population centers. We must ensure the safety of the population and the timely cessation of abuse in the sphere of the economy, the decisive eradication of organized crime, corruption, drug trafficking and other dangerous violations of the law. We must prevent the illegal dismantling of and, even more so, vandalism against monuments, for by mindlessly destroying them we shall offend our people's historical memory. To these ends, we must expand and strengthen contacts with the organs of local authority, with the deputies, with the public and labor collectives.

The conditions for effective work do exist today. We have been guaranteed the support of the USSR president and of the legislative and executive organs of the Union and the republics. People trust us, and there is no doubt that the personnel of the Internal Affairs organs justify this trust and will cope with honor with the tasks with which they have been set.

Latvian Officials Meet Bakatin, Shaposhnikov

LD2508154991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1420 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, 25 Aug (TASS)— A meeting took place in Moscow today between USSR Defense Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, USSR Internal Affairs Minister Viktor Barannikov, and USSR KGB Chairman Vadim Bakatin and the leaders of the Latvian Republic. The sides discussed the principles of the further interrelations between the constitutional institutions of the Latvian Republic and the corresponding institutions of the USSR, and also their cooperation in the matter of eliminating the aftermath of the USSR coup.

In the course of the meeting an accord was reached on the removal of the Baltic Military District commander, Colonel General Fedor Kuzmin, who took an active part in the implementation of the putsch. It was agreed that the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry, the USSR Defense Ministry and the USSR KGB would not give any assistance to the OMON Special Purpose Militia Detachment armed detachment, coordinating with the Latvian authorities measures to put a stop to its operations and to disarm it. All property that was seized by USSR armed formations during January and August of this year will be returned to the Latvian Republic. A group of USSR KGB representatives will fly to Riga, where, together with the representatives of the Latvian authorities, questions regarding the implementation of the Latvian parliament's decision concerning the elimination of the Latvian KGB will be tackled.

The sides agreed that an agreement would be concluded between the Latvian Republic and the USSR on the presence [nakhozhdeniye] of USSR Armed Forces on Latvian territory. On the Latvian side, Latvian Supreme Council Chairman Anatoliy Gorbunovs, First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers Ilmars Bishers, Internal Affairs Ministers Aloiz Vaznis, and others took part in the meeting.

Bessmertnykh Discusses Dismissal, Putsch Events

LD2308171291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1610 GMT 23 Aug 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Konstantin Voytsekhovich]

[Text] Moscow, 23 Aug (Tass)—President Gorbachev telephoned former Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh at around noon today and said that, according to preliminary data at his disposal, he had "demonstrated passivity in his post" during the coup, and he told him of his dismissal.

In his first interview with a TASS correspondent since this conversation, Aleksandr Bessmertnykh—who entered the ranks of the five highest placed Foreign Ministry officials during the perestroyka period and who became minister at the beginning of the year—said he received the USSR President's words "with sorrow". Recalling the events of recent days, Aleksandr Bessmertnykh reported that he was called to Moscow from Belorussia, where he was on holiday, on Sunday night "to discuss a very important issue." At around midnight, he was taken to the Kremlin, where State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE] members were sitting at the time. According to him, he asked whether the committee was set up by a decision of the president. After those sitting spoke of Mikhail Gorbachev's "illness," Aleksandr Bessmertnykh also asked a question about whether the appropriate medical conclusion was available.

The former foreign minister said that he had "categorically rejected" proposals that he join the committee and had warned those assembled that their actions would lead to the country's isolation and to sanctions from the international community. According to the former minister, former KGB head Kryuchkov said in response to his refusal: "That's a pity. We need to have a liberal there."

Aleksandr Bessmertnykh reported that he called a meeting with the deputy foreign minister on Monday. Three options for action were discussed at the meeting: For everyone to resign, to silently oppose the SCSE, or to guard the state's national interests as far as possible. According to him, the meeting participants dwelt on the second and third options. He also stated that two of the instructions of the SCSE received during the coup—on directing Foreign Ministry employees into the apparatus of the Committee and the closure of the customs checkpoint on the border between Moldova and Romania—had not been carried out by the Foreign Ministry.

Aleksandr Bessmertnykh stressed that the USSR's foreign policy during the perestroyka years "absolutely must progress further." He said that he "remains a supporter of the policies of the new thinking and of perestroyka."

The former minister reported that he did not yet know how he would be employed in the future. He immediately informed U.S. Secretary of State James Baker and former USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze about his resignation.

TASS Reports Foreign Ministry Session 23 Aug

LD2508173991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1625 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, 25 Aug (TASS)—It has been reported here that there was a session of the collegium of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs on 23 August. At it Aleksandr Bessmertnykh reported on the activities of the ministry and of his own activities as minister during the failed anti-constitutional coup. He said that from the very outset he resolutely rejected the plotters' proposal that he should join the so-called State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE].

Those who addressed the collegium resolutely condemned the activities of those who organized the coup and who tried to restore a totalitarian regime, plunge the country into civil war, and place it in international isolation.

On the basis of critical remarks by USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev and drawing grave lessons from these tragic events, the collective of the USSR Foreign Ministry is strictly analyzing the actions of the central apparatus and establishments abroad during the country's time of crisis, a resolution by the collegium says. This work is being carried out in all sections of the ministry system and will be completed in a very short time. All the necessary practical conclusions will be drawn from it.

Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, former USSR Foreign Minister, kept quiet about the contents of a USSR Foreign Ministry telegram sent on his instructions to Soviet ambassadors abroad on the first day of the coup. Sergey Lavrov, chief of the International Organizations Directorate at the USSR Foreign Ministry, told a TASS correspondent about this over the telephone. The telegram contained documents published that day by the SCSE and recommended that ambassadors be guided by them in their work.

The session of the Collegium at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs on 23 August also included heads of all subdivisions of the ministry, Sergey Lavrov said. At the collegium, Aleksandr Bessmertnykh announced that the President had removed him from his post and gave his version of events from which it emerged that the leadership of the USSR Foreign Ministry did not cooperate with the SCSE and did not carry out the instructions of the committee. However, according to Sergey Lavrov, he personally saw the text of the telegram sent on the instructions of the former minister to Soviet establishments abroad on the morning of 19 August.

Sergey Lavrov noted that as well as the text of SCSE documents published on that day, the telegram contained the words: Be guided in your work by these documents. So, he said, the Foreign Ministry not only carried out the instruction of the SCSE but also instructed ambassadors and representatives of the USSR in international organizations to be guided by its documents.

According to Sergey Lavrov, only deputy ministers received copies of the telegram so few people at the ministry knew of its existence until recently.

CPSU Functions in Foreign Missions Dissolved

LD2408152191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1400 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Text] As you know, big changes are currently taking place in the Union Cabinet of Ministers, and new people have already been appointed to several key posts, but we have received the most meager amount of information from the USSR Foreign Ministry. We only know that Gorbachev has dismissed Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, the Union foreign minister.

I just phoned the USSR Foreign Ministry and spoke to Yuriy Aleksandrovich Kvitsinskiy, who, as the diplomats say, is currently in charge. No one has appointed him as acting minister, but during this period of limbo between Foreign Ministry authorities, Kvitsinskiy is in charge of the work of our diplomatic department.

Yuriy Aleksandrovich told me that yesterday there was a session of the Foreign Ministry collegium at which Bessmertnykh tried to justify himself, saying that from the very beginning he rejected proposals to join the State Committee for the State of Emergency.

We will still have to look into the way in which the Foreign Ministry behaved during the attempted state coup, but as Kvitsinskiy told me, several humble officials of the USSR Foreign Ministry were on the square in front of the White House, and, generally speaking, it was obvious within the Foreign Ministry that the establishment of the junta would have a sharply negative effect on the USSR's international position and on the conduct of the policy of the new way of thinking.

Now, the Foreign Ministry is actively working on holding a humanitarian conference in Moscow and on preparing for the trip by a Soviet delegation to the UN General Assembly.

Here is one more interesting piece of news: Kvitsinskiy informed me that at yesterday's session of the USSR Foreign Ministry party committee, a resolution was adopted on dissolving the CPSU Party organization in the USSR Foreign Ministry.

Today, our foreign embassies abroad have also received an instruction about the dissolution of CPSU Party organizations in Soviet foreign missions.

Shcherbakov Discusses Attempted Coup

LD2508172991 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1415 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Interview with First Deputy USSR Prime Minister Vladimir Ivanovich Shcherbakov by correspondent Valeriy Kiosa; place and date not given; from the "Panorama" program—recorded]

[Text] [Kiosa] To what extent does the record of the session of the USSR Cabinet of Ministers of 19 August which has been made known over the last few days correspond to reality? And how can the truth be established, if we believe that no minutes were taken at that session, that they were simply not taken?

[Shcherbakov] There really were no notes, because after these speeches I made every possible effort to find either the minutes or a sound recording. The session was closed, therefore there really is nothing. But, how is the truth to be established? Probably the people will say, those who were, after all, there. But the fact is that everyone of them has his own perception of what took place, and of what was spoken of there.

From the record it seems to follow that all the members of the Cabinet of Ministers, except Vorontsov, almost unanimously supported everything, including the introduction of a state of emergency. In actual fact there was not such unanimity. The situation really was complex. Pavlov said that, in essence, talk was of the preparation of a state coup on the part of extremists, therefore such actions had to be undertaken, the emergency committee had to be set up and so on.

Everyone somehow felt under pressure from this information, but not everyone spoke because after about two hours time they all said, generally speaking, that is enough discussion of the situation. No one is saying anything new, they are only making statements of opposition, moreover, all of these are roughly in the same tone.

[Kiosa] How can what you say be made to correspond with the report—it is usual to call this the official report—about the 19 August session of the Cabinet of Ministers which started with the Cabinet statement about their support for the Committee for the State of Emergency?

[Shcherbakov] You know, we discussed all this on 21 August and we were all indignant at this information. We only adopted a decree on the 19th. I prepared it that night myself, and I insisted that that decree should, in the first place, contain no mention of the SCSE until it is authentically confirmed that all of this is constitutional and legal, therefore, as the Cabinet of Ministers, we do not have the right to express the official reaction of the USSR Government and in this way, somehow confirm the legality of all the actions undertaken.

Valentin Sergeyevich, I said, you can adopt whatever personal position you like but we are, after all, the Government of the USSR. Therefore we cannot undertake actions that are not backed up by evidence. At the moment everything is just words, promises of various kinds. Show us a report on Gorbachev's health. Give us an official statement by Lukyanov, and so on. Are you going to do all that? Convene the Supreme Soviet without delay, and then something can be said about the government's reaction. It transpired that this information had been prepared by staff of the Cabinet office. They did not show it to anybody.

Immediately after the meeting, which I left a bit early, I met ambassadors from 18 countries. I told them quite clearly here that, according to our information, the president was alive and well. I asked them to inform their heads of state immediately of the second government statement, which was then being discussed and would, I was convinced, be adopted. Maybe journalists should be told a little later, I suggested, because this would give us time to instruct all Soviet ambassadors—and we have quite a few of them too. It was necessary, you know, to prepare information and instruct them to notify heads of government in their host countries of this information without delay. All this takes time. Therefore the situation was complicated.

[Kiosa] Vladimir Ivanovich, you said that everything was based on oral reports on the President's condition and the situation in the country. Who gave these oral indications and did you try to verify them in some way, through the republics or by trying, maybe, to get in direct contact with people who could give you information?

[Shcherbakov] Like everyone else I found out about this from reports on television. I went to work and tried to call through to Pavlov. I was told that he was ill and could not speak. He would come in a little later and tell us then. We called around all members of the Presidium. Nobody knew anything. I came here and held a meeting of the collegium. Then I began trying to sort out what needed to be done in this situation. I tried to call Lukyanov but was unable to get through. I called Yanayev and asked him three questions. I said: Gennadiy Ivanovich, I want direct and frank answers to three questions. First, do you have authentic and clear proof that the President is unable to perform his duties? Second, are the announcements on television the exact text of your declaration and position, so to speak? Are you sure nothing has been distorted in it? Third, only three of you signed the statement but the group that discussed the situation must have been larger. What is the thinking of that group? Did you really weigh all the options and conclude that there was no other way of saving the country from chaos? He said yes firmly. Did Lukyanov attend this meeting? Yes, he did. Did he confirm the legality of this action? Yes, he did. I pointed out that there was a mechanism for introducing a state of emergency. The law should be followed. Instead, the law has quite simply been ignored. How is one to understand this?

He said the situation was such that this had to be done. Lukyanov said that this...he confirmed that he would discuss everything else with the Supreme Soviet and explain his actions. He asked me what my personal position was. I told him that, as he knew, I did not have private, authentic information about the situation. For the time being I could only go by what he said. Therefore, he had to make sure that all the information was correct rather than the other way round. I told him that, lacking the information I needed, I had decided to carry out my state duties in an honest and conscientious manner until the Supreme Soviet met or until firm information was available.

Then I had a conversation with Pavlov, which lasted about two hours. He told me that he had no doubt that everything had been done legally and correctly and that he would explain everything that evening. He fixed a time for our meeting. So, as you know, that meeting of the Cabinet was held. Our conversation did not continue after the Cabinet meeting ended. After all, if what he said was to be believed, the situation in the country really was critical.

[Kiosa] He said the situation was critical? What did he mean by that?

[Shcherbakov] All right, I will explain. Pavlov told me that on the 18th he was sitting with his son at his dacha, when Kryuchkov rang and said that an emergency had arisen. An urgent meeting had to be held in the Kremlin. Well, he said, I asked who the meeting would be with. He listed the people. Why isn't Lukyanov one of them, Pavlov asked. Lukyanov is in Valday. Send a plane for him, says Pavlov. Well, when the meeting convened, it was told that a group consisting of Baklanov, Shenin, Boldin, and Plekhanov had just returned from the Crimea with the following information. They had not been able to have a private meeting with the president. Doctors were with him. When they did manage to see him for 15-20 minutes, the President was in bed, in no state to talk to them. It was quite clear that he did not have a proper grasp on realities. Doctors had not yet issued an official report on his condition. But it appeared that he might have had a heart attack or a stroke or God knows what. They did not wait around for this information to become available but flew back immediately. That's the first thing.

Secondly, Kryuchkov and Plekhanov went on immediately to say that they had information that a military coup would be attempted in the next few hours, that gangs of thugs were already gathering round a whole series of buildings. They detailed the weapons they had, including mortars. They showed four lists of people who were to be liquidated immediately. So, they said, we've only got a few hours in which to act. If the news of Gorbachev's condition comes out, it will be impossible to keep the country under control. That was the situation. So, as a result, they adopted these decisions. The prime minister, Pavlov, spoke several times to Kryuchkov, as this was going on, and demanded to know, the whole time, whether the thugs had been seized, whether the siege of the Central Telegraph Office had been lifted, whether the weapons had been seized, and so on.

That is the situation. And these were the decisions they adopted at the end. I myself witnessed Pavlov speaking to Kryuchkov several times, wanting to know whether the militants had been seized, and whether the blockade had been lifted at the central telegraph, and whether weapons had been confiscated, etc. But all that confirmed the events in some way. In retrospect, now I think that things could have been done differently, but on 19 August in the afternoon I tried to get in touch with Boldin, Bessmertnykh, and every aide of the president. But I could not get through. I tried to call Foros. I was told that Mikhail Sergeyevich was seriously ill and that he was seeing the doctors at that moment. I said to them that I wanted to speak to Raisa Maksimovna. They said that Raisa Maksimovna was with him. Since I knew Medvedev, chief of guard, I asked to speak to him immediately. They said to me that Medvedev was also with the others. I then asked: Alright, is there any aide there with whom I could speak." But I was told: "Everyone around is...there is an extraordinary situation here." That was it. So all these events... [changes thought] perhaps this is the reason why I was somewhat more restrained when I spoke at the sitting of the Cabinet of Ministers than I would have been, had I known the true underlying story. When I wondered what position I should voice at the Cabinet meeting, I decided that I had not had any true and clear confirmation that what was going on was on a constitutional basis. We as a Cabinet of Ministers have no right to give any official reaction in support of all these actions.

Therefore, at the beginning I spoke about regular issues, I said that since information was not confirmed and could not be regarded as accurate, then the West would be the first to react. Embargoes would follow. It was necessary to prevent the country from sliding into chaos. Efforts should be concentrated on that, I said.

The second thing I said was that I did not share the opinions that had been expressed there by the absolute majority of the speakers, that I did not need to welcome all this. Everyone was entitled to his own view.

My position was that until I got some confirmed information, and before the Supreme Soviet session, I would faithfully carry out my duties to the state. But at the same time I told them that I had one condition—regarding the means and methods to be used by the state emergency committee for the restoration of the law, order and discipline. These must not be the methods used at the end of the New Economic Policy Period, I said.

And I suspect, that these methods could have been used because Starodubtsev and Tizyakov were in the committee. I know their views and do not share them. And I will never wish to implement their methods of 1929 or follow through Tizyakov's and Starodubtsev's positions and views. Everyone must firmly know that. I think that people concluded from this that I adhere to a more moderate position which is, if not directly against...At least it was clear to everyone that I did not intend to support their actions. At any rate I could sense this.

That was clear when they declared a break in the meeting, you know, for 10 minutes to let us have a smoke. Usually when one enters the vestibule of the conference hall, people greet one another, asking questions. But when I went to the vestibule, everyone started to move away from me and avert their eyes. They formed a corridor to let me through, you see.

You know, well, how you go along that corridor. And then I went up to the garbage can to smoke there. Nobody came up. Then two people came up—Gubenko came up, and Smirnov, Aleksandr Ivanovich. We smoked, generally not speaking to each other. Everybody had a heavy heart. It was a shameful sitting. But, well, that's how all that took place, so to speak.

PRAVDA Not Published 24 Aug

LD2408094291 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0807 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Text] PRAVDA did not come out today for the first time in decades. The fate of IZVESTIYA is developing more fortunately than that of PRAVDA. There was a meeting of the editorial team yesterday, and the newspaper was registered at the Ministry of the Press and Mass Media of the Russian Federation. The constituent members of the paper are its team of journalists. (Igor Golubevskiy) has been elected editor-in-chief of the newspaper and he has been endorsed.

PRAVDA Editor Protests Paper's Suspension

LD2408141291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1800 GMT 23 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Veronika Romanenkova]

[Text] Moscow, 23 Aug—"Today's decree from Russian President Boris Yeltsin on the temporary suspension of publication of CPSU publications is a direct blow against the country's Communist Party," Gennadiy Seleznev, first deputy editor in chief of PRAVDA, stated today at a press conference.

As the RSFSR president's decree stated, the reason for the decree is "the active support given by the mass media for the illegal actions of the State Committee for the State of Emergency of the USSR and the acts of propaganda aimed at overthrowing the constitutional structure by force."

However, Gennadiy Seleznev considers that "the reference in the decree to Point 5 of the Press Law is unjustified." According to Seleznev, the Russian leadership "is acting by the same unconstitutional methods as the so-called State Committee for the State of Emergency."

PRAVDA is published in editions exceeding 3 million copies and is subscribed to not just by inhabitants of Russia but also by those of other republics and foreign countries, the deputy chief editor reported. Moreover, he added, "about 500 editorial workers may be put out of work, not to mention the workers of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, GLASNOST, RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA, MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA and LENINSKOYE ZNAMYA."

The deputy editor in chief of PRAVDA recalled that yesterday the newspaper's collective adopted the decision to transform PRAVDA into a general political newspaper of the CPSU. The reason for this is that for many years the editorial was subjected to considerable "pressure from above." Thus, for example, according to the deputy chief editor from 19 to 21 August the newspaper's correspondents had been at all the "hot points." However, not all of their material was published.

Gennadiy Seleznev is convinced that "the free expression by the newspaper of the opinions of all communists, the independent and consistent defense of the social interests of working people will serve to revive the prestige of the party and its political role."

Replying to a question about the position of Ivan Frolov, the newspaper's editor in chief, Gennadiy Seleznev said that he remains at his post "thanks to the mercy of the collective" because Frolov was seriously ill and is in Germany where he has been receiving treatment for more than a week.

PRAVDA Publisher on Departyization

PM2508152391 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 24 Aug 91 p 2

[Report by B. Filatov under general heading "If Newspapers Are Being Closed Down, This Means Power Is Changing Again": "Director's Position"]

[Text] A labor collective conference was held at the CPSU Central Committee's PRAVDA Publishing House House of Culture, at which Director V. Leontyev reported the administration's repeated applications to the CPSU Central Committee, asking that the publishing house be granted the status of a leased enterprise, which elicited no reply.

In the prevailing conditions, the publishing house's leadership has decided to no longer apply to the CPSU Central Committee and, subject to the labor collective's permission, to ask the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers to take the publishing house under the jurisdiction of state management organs as a leased enterprise. The labor collective supported this request with only one vote against.

A debate ensued on the choice and approval of a new name for the publishing house. The workers decided not to renounce their history and adopted a new name: PRAVDA Independent Publishing House. Vyacheslav Leontyev was elected its director.

The question of departyization was raised during the discussion of conditions in the transition to the enterprise's new status.

The new director declared that the publishing house's departyization will occur within the deadlines set by the Russian Government's resolution.

IZVESTIYA Criticizes Newspapers' Closure

PM2508204191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Aug 91 Union Edition p 2

[Article by V. Nadein: "Yeltsin Committed a Mistake by Closing Down the Newspapers. Now He Must Correct It Himself"]

[Text] Last Friday [23 August], RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] President B.N. Yeltsin promulgated a decree which de facto terminated the appearance of a series of Communist publications with print runs into the millions.

The decree says that these mass media conducted an active campaign of slander against representatives of legitimate power, misinformed the people, and were essentially accomplices in the coup d'etat.

"In connection with the aforementioned, the publication of the newspapers PRAVDA, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, GLASNOST, RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA, MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA, AND LENINSKOYE ZNAMYA as publications of the CPSU is temporarily suspended."

The property of the publications in question, as well as of TASS and the NOVOSTI agency, has been transferred into the custody of RSFSR state organs.

The RSFSR Prosecutor's Office has been instructed to produce a legal appraisal of the aforementioned newspapers' actions.

Russia's president also removed from office TASS Director L. Spiridonov and NOVOSTI News Agency Chairman A. Vlasov "for having misinformed the population and the world community about events in the country."

Furthermore, the RSFSR Council of Ministers has been instructed to submit proposals for the reorganization of TASS. The property of the NOVOSTI agency, together with all publishing houses, printing plants, and enterprises servicing them, owned by the CPSU and located on RSFSR territory (except publishing houses and printing plants located on the territory of RSFSR-member republics) are transferred into the custody of the RSFSR Ministry of the Press and Mass Information.

There are quite a few parallels of this decree in world history. Such actions have inevitably accompanied coups, but they have never accompanied democratic transformations.

There is no need to broach the subject of the involvement of the publications' leaders, who bear total personal responsibility for the nature of coverage provided during those days. They should get what they deserve. Even before those days, Frolov and Spiridonov, Vlasov and Izyumov, were different in every imaginable detail. They have always been despised among journalists. But it must not be forgotten that ordinary journalists had no real opportunities to get honest information published in their own newspaper's pages against the chief editor's objections.

At first glance, the transfer of printing assets under the RSFSR Government's control does not pose the threat of any direct misfortunes for the freedom of speech. Although the printing base is the mightiest of censors. Any honest publication will end up as a compilation of totally useless pages if it has no access to printing presses or newsprint.

But the closure of newspapers is a phenomenon of a completely different order of magnitude. The authorities' right to pass judgment as to which information is "de facto" truthful and which is "de facto" false is the first step to dictatorship. If some people are deprived of freedom, then all will be deprived of freedom without fail. The appraisal of newspapers is up to the readers, not up to presidents.

B.N. Yeltsin's decree contains the proviso that it involves the suspension, a temporary halt of the newspapers' publication. There is no precise definition of "temporary," but it does seem to be an extenuating factor. Furthermore, the decree speaks of restrictions imposed on these publications only to the extent that they remain CPSU publications.

Let us cast our minds back: The bolsheviks closed down the "bourgeois" newspapers soon after they seized power precisely because of the slanderous nature of their information and for only one month. Consequently, the captive president of the USSR had to listen to the "bourgeois" BBC. And the one month lasted 73 years.

The music-hall junta, which remained in power for just two days, may not have ended up quite so comical had it not been for Yeltsin's resolute and fearless decrees. The men who would not have hesitated in imposing any restrictions on the freedom of the press, the freedom of conscience, the civic freedom, and freedom in all its manifestations, tightened the noose around the neck of the democratic press without the tiniest pangs of conscience.

But Yeltsin and Yanayev, Silayev and Pavlov, Khasbulatov and Lukyanov are not just different politicians representing different ideas and different approaches. They symbolize different worlds. They are simply beyond comparison. Had that gang seized the country, which was perfectly probable even last Monday, nobody would have been in a position to publicly complain against them today. Even if anyone had dared to.

The three heroic days, when many IZVESTIYA staffers joined the ranks of citizens surrounding Russia's White House (even though the newspaper itself was shamefully double-dealing), give us the right and the duty to bluntly ask Russia's president: Is this what you yourself fought for, Boris Nikolayevich? Sooner or later, an "anti-junta" will degenerate simply into a junta.

Incidentally, there were also PRAVDA journalists among the defenders of the White House in the night of 20-21 August, that most alarming and dangerous night.

We contacted the leaders of several democratic publications whose publication was banned by the State Committee for the State of Emergency gangleaders. We asked them the same question: What is your attitude toward the ban on PRAVDA and publications like it?

Ye. Yakovlev, chief editor of MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI:

"My attitude toward these newspapers is obvious and needs no amplifications, in view of the torrents of abuse they heaped upon me all these years. Nonetheless, I would like to see such actions implemented as constitutionally as possible. These publications were also a threat to the constitution, especially SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA. They called for a putsch long before the putsch. But I would like to see their closure implemented in an impeccably constitutional fashion."

V. Fronin, chief editor of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA:

"I believe that this is a wrong step. It should have been done within the framework of the Law on the Press. It is very dangerous if there is no opposition in society. Opposition is necessary. But the main point is that everything should be strictly within the law's boundary."

P. Gusev, chief editor of MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS:

"My attitude is quite complex. I have never been a fan of these newspapers. Especially when I was being abused on two accounts—as newspaper editor and as chairman of the Journalists Union Moscow organization.

"But in this situation I stand on democratic positions. I see no need for draconian measures. I think that there is no need to close them down for long. Maybe for a day or two, to look into the calls for the overthrow of the constitutional system and enable the collectives to change the leadership. But it is wrong to close down the newspapers for good."

I. Zakharov, deputy chief editor of NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA:

"In these circumstances, the closure of these newspapers is both possible and necessary. We still do not have a constitutional rule-of-law state. Of course, the ideals of civilization are admirable but not always appropriate."

These are the views of those who did not bow before the plotters, despite the ban. The banned newspapers did come out. Truncated, with articles in slogan form, more like leaflets than the authoritative publications which they successfully became.

There is no doubt that the editors of PRAVDA, GLASNOST, and RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA—never mind profascist publications like the journal MOLODAYA GVARDIYA—would not even dream of putting out underground issues of their newspapers. These people are boundlessly timid outside their fancy offices, as we were lucky enough to see for ourselves from the example of our newspaper's former chief editor Yefimov.

But democracy is not afraid of words. Deprived of subsidies from secret party funds, PRAVDA and its minions would soon enough expire. Our people were courageous enough to rise against the junta. When it comes to paying out, they are smart enough to draw their own conclusions about the true value of a subscription to PRAVDA.

The era of our wise, omniscient, and infallible rulers came to an end this week. From now on we are led by people who are not insured against mistakes. We are beginning to feel something that is natural in many countries—personal and totally unenforced agreement with our leaders. They are our men. They lead us with our consent, and are therefore always open to demands. They must be.

Russia's president will avoid demands provided he himself repeals his decision on the closure of Communist newspapers. The decision to close them down does not befit him.

NOVOSTI Defends Reportage During Putsch

LD2408150891 Moscow TASS in English 1457 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 24 TASS—The NOVOSTI News Agency has issued a statement, following the decree of the Russian president of August 22 on some mass media organs. It expresses emphatic disagreement with the accusation of "misinformation of the people and complicity in the coup", directed at the news agency.

The statement said that such accusations insulted the honour and dignity of NOVOSTI journalists, who were doing their utmost for keeping the world public informed of the developments in the country during those tragic days of the great struggle for democracy. They used all means at their disposal—television, the press, radio and photo services in the USSR and abroad.

Even before the collapse of the coup foreign mass media published NOVOSTI information about gross violation of the constitution by the plotters, in defence of the legally elected president of the country.

Our professional honour, dignity and concrete deeds during the days of our common misfortune do not allow us accept the charges against us, which we do not deserve, the NOVOSTI statement says.

IZVESTIYA Collective States New Intentions

PM2508183691 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Aug 91 Union Edition p 4

[Article signed by "IZVESTIYA Staff" ("Izvestintsy"): "Our New Old IZVESTIYA"]

[Text] And so, reader, you have in your hands the first issue of the new IZVESTIYA. Why have we not put "No. 1" under the title, instead of leaving it as the next in sequence, No. 202 for this year and No. 23,468 since its foundation? What has happened to our newspaper? What has become of it, and what will become of it?

Prior to 23 August 1991 the founder of our newspaper was the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. We had previously had serious conflicts with our master, which invariably took the side of the chief editor, even if his stance on the most fundamental matters was contrary to the opinion of the editorial collegium and the entire journalists' collective.

This was particularly clearly manifested during the days of the putsch, when the chief editor, guided by the founder, sought stubbornly to make IZVESTIYA the mouthpiece of the usurpers of power. It was that fact that made us, the IZVESTIYA staff [Izvestintsy], seek an immediate change in the newspaper's status, the registration of its new name, and the approval of the statutes which the editorial collective had been fighting for already for more than six months.

Henceforth the journalists' collective is IZVESTIYA's founder. That is what it says in the statutes adopted unanimously at a meeting of staffers of the editorial office. Here are its main provisions: "The editorial office operates in accordance with legislation, and also with the Program (basic principles) of activity approved by the founder and the present Statutes. The editorial office is independent of political parties and other social associations pursuing political goals. Staffers of the editorial office are guided in their work by the requirements of the laws and the present Statutes and are not bound by the decisions of political parties or social associations pursuing political goals."

That is what the legal document says. And now a few words on our own account. Yes, we will make a fundamentally new newspaper, we pledge henceforth to serve only the cause and never individuals, and not to produce a single issue that we would later have cause to be ashamed of. But that does not mean that we are dissociating ourselves from IZVESTIYA's glorious traditions, from the IZVESTIYA on which Anagoliy Agranovskiy, Nina Aleksandrova, and Yevgeniy Kriger served. We will try to take with us from the past into the future the entire journalistic experience that has accrued in our newspaper.

Henceforth we and only we are responsible for every word that appears in our pages. The confidence that this will be so is reinforced by a very important point—henceforth we are led by a chief editor we ourselves have elected. That has never happened before in IZVESTIYA's history. We are proud and happy that it fell to the lot of the present generation of staffers to write a new chapter in that history. And we are convinced that our newspaper will be open for political diversity of opinion, for clashes between the most dissimilar views, for honest argument, and—most important—for 100-percent truthful information.

During the days of the putsch we saw once again that the editorial office forms an indivisible whole with the large collective of the printing plant and publishing house and all its services. It was only thanks to the courage of our workers that we were the only one of the central newspapers to publish Russian President Boris Yeltsin's appeal to the people in the morning of 20 August. Our indissoluble ties are the guarantee of the newspaper's renewal. Legal documents are now being drawn up which will further strengthen these ties and put them on a legal footing. That has become possible thanks to the fact that the publishing house has gone over to Russia's jurisdiction, which, of course, will in no way affect the fact that IZVESTIYA was and remains an all-Union newspaper.

Dear readers! We are beginning a new life. Our own, IZVESTIYA's, and, we hope, yours too. We congratulate ourselves and you on this beginning. We wish ourselves and you a worthy continuation. To our freedom and yours!

Cabinet Formation With View to Western Ties

OW2608174691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1640 GMT 26 Aug 91

["Diplomatic Panorama" report by M. Mayorov and I. Porshnev; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Mr. Ivan Silayev has the best chances to become a new Soviet prime-minster, DP [Diplomatic Panorama] has been told during a conversation with an economic expert from the Interior Ministry who met today (on August 26) Mr Silayev's aide. A new Soviet cabinet is being formed taking into account closer relations which are expected to be forged with the G-7 countries, the expert said. A cooperation with the West aimed at solving severe economic problems facing the Soviet Union will be one of the future government's priorities.

Officials at the foreign economic relations department of the Soviet foreign ministry indicated that major decisions should be expected from a meeting of G-7 experts (the so-called "sherpas") in London due on August 29. The purpose of the meeting is to develop new approaches to the cooperation with the Soviet Union. It has been speculated that this time a full membership in the IMF and the World Bank for the Soviet Union will be on the agenda, and not an associate status as previously. A forthcoming visit to Moscow by the British prime-minister John Major, scheduled for September, is likely to reveal on what principles the G-7 leaders want to base their relations with the Soviet Union in the new conditions.

New cabinet ministers might be named as early as this week, foreign ministry officials said. Meanwhile, according to an agreement with the all-Union authorities, issues of cooperation with the G-7 are being dealt with primarily by the Russian economics ministry, headed by Mr Yevgeniy Saburov, which has been acting in this particular case on behalf of the union as a whole. It has been suggested that an all-Union delegation for talks with the G-7 might include in the future representatives of individual republics, including Russia.

Yakovlev Discusses Events in Interview

LD2508114391 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1845 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Interview with Aleksandr Nikolayev Yakovlev by program presenters Sergey Torchinskiy and Nina Zvereva—live, from the "Without Retouching" program]

[Text] [Torchinskiy] Greetings from "Republic", a creative association of Russian Television. This is a live broadcast of the "Without Retouching" program. First of all, I would like to ask all the participants of our programme to stand and honor the memory of those boys who lost their lives with a minute's silence. [everybody stands up in silence] Please, take a seat.

With great pleasure I welcome Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev in our studio. Aleksandr Nikolayevich, you are an incredibly interesting figure as far as journalists and writers are concerned. Your life is an epic. And, if I were to write about you, I would have written about a person of clear thinking, unsullied honor, and conscience, despite the fact that for many years you were a member of the organization which had been monopolizing these wonderful qualities in the course of the whole epoch, and which, unfortunately, had brainwashed, deprived of conscience and made unscrupulous whole generations of people. Your life and fate are of great interest to us, but nevertheless, breaking our traditions today, I would like to suggest to you, colleagues, that we somehow leave this treasure to our future writers and future researches but concentrate on one thing and one thing only.

It is my suggestion, and you know that you can turn it down. It is up to you to decide what you are going to do. I would have liked us to talk today about our role, our role not so much during the coup, but prior to it; about the mechanisms which this system had to shut our mouth and to bring us up as obedient servants of the regime. The actual mechanisms because we used to be the most powerful weapon of the system, us journalists. This is my suggestion. But you can do as you please.

And finally, Aleksandr Nikolayevich, I would like to tell you about our traditions and about the way we build our program. In the beginning of the program you have five minutes for any statement or speech, whatever you prefer. Then you have a three minute dialogue with each of the journalists. I stress the fact that it is a dialogue because there could be questions coming from both sides. This is a dialogue, not an interview. Then if we have some time left, and I hope we do and that colleagues remember that our time is very limited, we will hold a blitz-interview. Those journalists who will not have exhausted their time will be the first ones to lay claim to the blitz-interview.

And finally, I forgot to introduce myself. My name is Sergey Torchinskiy. I work with my colleague Nina Zvereva

[Zvereva] Good evening.

[Torchinskiy] We always work together. And as for other newspapers, you will see their names. Each participant will introduce him or herself to you. So if everybody is ready we will begin. Aleksandr Nikolayevich, over to you.

[Yakovlev] Well, what can I say today. We are meeting together here on a really tragic day. We have just mentioned it. I think this will exert some influence on public opinion. Today's funeral procession which was broadcast throughout the country, as far as I understand, is likely to create an impression similar to the one made on us by those past three days when the destiny of our motherland and our country was being decided. But I ask myself again and again: So we have once again buried those people who lost their really beautiful lives for us. So why does it happen that in the course of all this century in 1905, in 1917, then in 1917 again, then the Civil War, then that absolutely absurd period of our barbarity and serfdom connected with reprisals—well, the Patriotic War has its own special place, of course, this is another matter, as they say—but the same continued after the war. And the very moment our people try, just try, let's say, to ask God and the management for a gulp of fresher air, and the whole thing again results in bloodshed either in one place, or a second one or a third.

And finally, it happened in Moscow. A human being always wants to cherish a hope. And now I want to do it again and I want to express my hope that, for all that, this was the last time. I think that the knowledge or the influence of this knowledge of these three days and of the funerals, and the revolution in people's minds gives us hope that we can now put an end to both the trunk and the main spinal column of the totalitarian regime, and we can show to all the people those who still stand in our path of progress. And this time, maybe without lapsing into excessive illusions, we should say that will now be making our way to the civilized world much faster. I think this is all I wanted to say, for a start.

[Torchinskiy] Thank you. We have another tradition. You can choose which newspaper will start.

[Yakovlev] Without even looking around and choosing, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA.

[Correspondent Igor Sichko] Thank you, Aleksandr Nikolayevich. I would have liked to ask you about...Igor Sichko... when do you think the real threat of a coup developed? Last fall, when we noticed that airborne troops were moving to Moscow suburbs, and when Yazov explained to us that they were brought here to dig potatoes and rehearse for the parade? Or in winter when Shevardnadze resigned, and after that Vilnius events took place. Or was it only in August of 1991 that the real threat of the coup arose.

[Yakovlev] In my view this question or debate regarding this topic can be split into two parts. One layer comprises the attempts or rehearsals for a coup, a grand or a small coup, but an open coup, a military coup. A military coup carried out by the joint cooperation of all the apparatuses. After all, you understand, the recent year saw the unification of all the apparatuses: the state apparatus, the KGB apparatus, the highest apparatus of the generals and law enforcement bodies. Some of them waived some of their sovereign powers for the sake of those things they had in common: the combating of democracy and democratic development. So these people, in my view, counted on the possibilities of a direct coup.

But all the time when I was writing about it, and not just once, about this danger, to be frank, I myself meant the possibilty of a creeping counterrevolution. A creeping counterrevolution. And moreover, it was going very successfully. I do not understand why they chose a direct coup because the creeping counterrevolution was succeeding: the stifling of glasnost, the sabotage of measures directed at transformations, the sabotage of the farmers' reform, the sabotage of the development of a market system, and so on and so forth. After all, if we look around we will see that especially in the regions all those things we call transformations, things which delight us sometimes or something of the kind, are not being implemented. And ultimately this contradiction would have taken the form of the changing of the system, the actual change of the system with the help of this creeping effect, and of the going back to this system.

But they chose open and immediate war. Especially after the party introduced its new program which, as far as I understand, scared the air force, and in connection with the fact that the latest April plenum, and the one before that, and the demands of Soyuz, the Soyuz parliamentary group, were not... or to put it more precisely, they slowly started to lose their attraction and their influence. Especially after the elections of the 12 June. I think that after that they began to hurry up, and it all resulted in this tragedy, this crime— you call it with any word that springs to mind.

[Sichko] Aleksandr Nikolayevich, you know the corridors of power very well. Who in your view...?

[Torchinskiy] You used an extra minute. Over to you, Nina.

[Zvereva] MEGAPOLYUS EXPRESS, over to you.

[Correspodent Kostyukov] Aleksandr Nikolayevich, do not you think that the central figure of this committee is Oleg Baklanov?

[Torchinskiy] Introduce yourself.

[Kostyukov] Sorry. Anatoliy Kostyukov

[Yakovlev] You know, no, I do not think so. Although, I do not know how much time is left before the trial. The investigation is underway. Time and events will show. I can only express my personal impressions acquired as a result of my observations of all these people. And I know all them. Apart from maybe only Tizyakov.

[Kostyukov] Excuse me, did you pay any attention to...

[Yakovlev] I think that two people—Lukyanov and Kryuchkov—were the main figures and the main core of this.

[Kostyukov] Did you pay attention to photo copies published in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA which show that the text of the appeal was obviously prepared in Baklanov's apparatus? His signature can be seen on the document, in the proper place, and all the dates were clearly inserted by him. And it is no secret that he still occupies his study on the Staraya Square. You know that each document has a place for its originator, and the originator always puts his signature there, or in other words the person to whom this document is submitted once it is delivered from his Secretariat, and other people place their signatures alongside, above or behind it.

[Yakovlev] Once again, making calculations is, so to speak, surely a specific matter of estimating on the basis of previous experience. All the same, I think that the document was prepared in the Central Committee and in the KGB.

[Zvereva] NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA.

[Correspondent Parkhomenko] Sergey Parkhomenko. I have asked to speak right now, because I would like to continue the conversation which you were having with my colleague. You said that you knew all these people well. What do you think, do you think that the people about whom we knew, along with those additional ones you have listed, would by their own forces and their own, let's call it, common sense, been capable of planning and trying to carry out this coup? I mean, by themselves would they have been capable of this?

[Yakovlev] No, they did not have the common sense, but the force was there. Nevertheless, the people making up that committee, are people who, let's say, have never occupied themselves with theory or literature, nor with research or investigation. That is to say, they have never carried out intellectual work on the sort of scale that they would thus become acquainted with the individual or society, or something else of that sort. These are military people, people of the military industrial complex, people of the economy.

[Parkhomenko] Aleksandr Nikolayevich, I was talking about something else. Don't you think that the group of people that we know about are, so to speak, rather narrow in composition?

[Yakovlev] Yes, I understand what you have in my mind. Of course, I naturally do not have any facts at all, but from the very first day I had a sort of feeling when I was woken early in the morning at home and told that this had happened. At first I did not believe it. Kalugin, the former general, phoned me and said, have you heard? What? He told me what. I told him a few words of the type, you know, how was he feeling, was he all right or not.

I sensed that he was perfectly all right, but very agitated. So that's how it was. After the first shock, which is natural for any person, and after a sort of internal dismay, then my thoughts were: what could I do myself? This question is an elemental and primitive one provoked by the plot, and it was: when will they come for you? This forced me to go up to the window on the one side—I have windows on both sides—and on the one side there was a vehicle, and on the other side there was a vehicle. They were just standing there, with some people. For some reason they were not facing this way [demonstrates angle of the car], but the other way, they were facing in such a way that they could get away more quickly or something, I don't know.

[Unidentified correspondent] APCs [Armed Personnel Carriers] or regular vehicles?

[Yakovlev] No, no, regular black Volga cars, one of them seemed to be navy blue but it was still dark outside. Well, then I telephoned the White House [RSFSR Supreme Soviet] and spoke with Boris Nikolayevich [Yeltsin]. He gave out instructions. Barrannikov telephoned me and asked: Is everything in order over there for the time being? I said: Everything is in order and quiet for the time being. He sent in some guys. But the interesting thing is that already others arrived...the most interesting thing is that those vehicles immediately drove away, they turned around and drove away. So that was how I felt in the beginning. And at that moment—answering your question—and later and up to this very moment I cannot get rid of the impression that behind this portrait gallery containing eight people there must be others, if not behind each one, then behind most of them, people who were more intelligent, clever and wily, if you like, who could have proposed a much more exciting and convincing program instead of that made-up of trite and chopped phrases on the occasion of a special extraordinary situation. It is true, I agree with you in that. The investigation may, perhaps, show such a picture, too, perhaps, I do not rule it out.

[Zvereva] KURANTY newspaper. Also, I am complying with the director's request and, like in parliament, I am announcing who is to speak next. The next one will be Aleskandr Savov, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA. Please.

[Correspondent Malash] Thank you. Lidiya Malash from KURANTY. Aleksandr Mikhaylovich, I would like to beg your pardon in advance for a somewhat harsh question, which is not even a question. Let us recall together Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's first decrees on protecting the President's honor and dignity, on raising salaries to the party apparatus and statesmen, on their private territory circumscribed by the Sadovoye Ringroad. You see, this is a man who has been continuously betraying. He betrayed you, he betrayed Bakatin, he betrayed Shaverdnadze, he surrounded himself with scoundrels whom he called friends. Everybody is speaking about this, everybody already knows about this. And what he said recently is astonishing. He said: we have won. Unfortunately, he has failed to say, even today: people, forgive me, I am to blame. This is something that had been expected of him. You see, do you think that Gorbachev has now only two options: the first option is to resign and the second to take a honorary post, like the British Queen. If you know a third option, please, describe it. For Yeltsin was freeing a president but, in fact, has freed the general secretary of a criminal party.

[Yakovlev] Well, I think, as far as I have been acquainted with what has been happening in all these three days, we never once thought, it never even occurred to us, that it was the general secretary we were releasing from captivity. It was, after all, a question of the president, of restoring constitutional power. And perhaps I will even put it another way, and speak of the restoration of democracy, the crushing of the coup and the restoration of constitutional rule. Well, but since under the constitution we have an oath—I don't remember the actual word...

[Correspondent] To preserve?

[Yakovlev] Yes, the president is guarantor of the constitution, of the constitutional norms, so in that way it has all come together. As for the general secretary, you understand that the organization which he heads is virtually nonexistent. If not formally, in fact it doesn't exist. And I think we—on the eve of the events, when I...that it won't exist in law either. So we were defending that too.

And to answer your second question, here one would need to weigh up everything very carefully for and against. Well, let us say that he betrayed me. You know, anyone can be betrayed of course, and that's not the point. And someone else could have been in my place, and I have even written somewhere that he could be far more clever and more able and so on, just as in place of my friends...you know, since last fall something was being created, well, when it was beginning to harm the cause. When step by step, after the rejection of the 500 program, I—God forbid that I should be such a vehement supporter—that there are no shortcomings there, that it is perfect, let us say: no, it's not that; but it did give a chance of accusation, deconsolidation, when all the republics would agree with it. Everyone understood that such a schematic day-to-day timetable...that nothing would come of it, well, and so on. Well, and so on. It does seem to me, though—and perhaps another question will be asked about this—at least I would very much like to hope that the lesson that has happened, sad and tragic...

[Malash] The latest lesson.

[Yakovlev] Well, I think it has been the toughest, the toughest. After all it...you know, I'd put it this way, that it should be a lesson not only to him. It has raised us all a head higher in a sense. I don't know, you may not agree with me, possibly our personal involvement has intensified our emotions as well. But we were all greatly distressed by the events in Tbilisi, and were very bitter and indignant—and rightly, and all that; and then in Fergana, and in Sumgait, that bloodbath, well, and in Lithuania of course, that hooliganism or banditry of the special units in the Baltics, all that is so, all that is so.

But when we saw in these days how fascism bared its teeth in Moscow, that, of course, I think, confronted us with the question on a different plane. I understand that when Mikhail Sergeyevich returned from the South, and you probably all heard his news conference, it didn't show an adequate grasp of the situation... There were the heated reproaches to the press, and again the socialist choice, the defense of the Central Committee, making the Central Committee out to be somehow part of the struggle. Well, I, on this subject, I'm speaking openly about it because I said everything about it today, what I'm saying to you now. What struggle? If there was a struggle, then why didn't anyone who was against, say, the imposition of the state of emergency, come to us and say so, or even telephone at least? We'd have listened. I don't know, Boris Nikolayevich, or they could have telephoned me and said: I don't agree with it, and so on.

Some people came and offered their services, from the very same party apparatus, asking what they could do as individuals. Well, what, either barricades, or writing appeals or something else or sticking up leaflets. But not a single leader from the Party Central Committee said a single word during that period, not a single word! And I, for one, cannot care less about what kind of struggle was going on there or what they were arguing about, or, as young people say today, I do not give a damn.

[Correspondent Savov] Aleskandr Sabov, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA. Aleskandr Nikolayevich, it seems that well over a quarter of century ago you published an article in the LITERATURNAYA GAZETA which cost you your first disgrace. In the next edition we are publishing an interview and my questions to you are expected to be included in it. I would like to ask you the following. The coup was preceded by an ideological preparation, this is beyond doubt today. I would like to ask you to define the ideology of the coup. What are its sources, in your view?

[Yakovlev] Well, this question is of such a nature that we will need to bring in a couple of institutes to pinpoint the sources of this business more or less precisely and correctly. The sources are rooted in our system, briefly speaking, in our system. This is part of our system. What is the main contradiction of perestroyka, why has it exploded in such a way? Well, there is a state system which is cemented and has game rules of its own, a system which has always fought something or someone. Well, there is no need for me to tell you or the viewers about this, I think. We are always fighting someone, we cannot live without an enemy. This is a system which does not wish, want or, perhaps, even cannot live without an enemy. It cannot, due to its structure. How else can it live, given a poor population, the inability to solve economic issues, the inability to feed people? What else is there to do if not to look for an enemy and to fight it? And I think that the entire cause lies here. But we started suddenly to drive the ideas of perestroyka—well, let us name them in general: freedom, democracy, all kinds of progress, if you like, into these old stables. But we failed to get a horse from there and [words indistinct.]

[Sabov] A persecution campaign against you, supported especially by such newspapers as DEN, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, MOSKOVSKIY LITERATOR, LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA, NASH SOVREMENNIK, MOLODAYA GVARDIYA, and others was an integral part on this ideological campaign, too, against you and Shevardnadze, incidentally, as key figures and against others, too.

[Yakovlev] Yes, there are probably more than 100 articles on this subject in my archives, that is about myself, so to speak. I think, it will be more fun to read it in future than at this time, at least, they do not worry me very much at the moment. But, in earnest, there was indeed an ideological preparation of the coup

[Sabov] Deliberate?

[Torchinskiy] Time

[Yakovlev] Deliberate, absolutely deliberate. Aren't articles by Zyuganov, Belov, Polozkov's report, articles by Ilyin and "The last word to the people", are not these not an ideological preparation? Or an interview or something with Prokhanov in NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA—I looked through in passing—this is the whole program of the coup, everything was covered there: what to do, how to do it, who is doing what. Everything was clear.

[Torchinskiy] Aleksandr Nikolayevich, I would like to tell you that newspapers of various positions are taking part in this program, this is the so-called pluralism, or rather not the so-called but simply pluralism, and the only thing...some newspapers are not here, some newspapers were added, and newspapers can take any position, including the most extreme ones. But the only criteria, by which we were guided, is that a position should be one's own and not an ordered one, this is the first, and the second is this position should not exceed the bounds of professional decency. That is why we cannot see some newpapers here. Go ahead, please.

[Zvereva] We have somebody new here, MEGAPOLIS EXPRESS and ARGUMENTY I FAKTY. The floor is to ARGUMENTY I FAKTY. IZVESTIYA is to get ready.

[Correspondent Natalya Zhelnarova, ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] Aleksandr Nikolayevich, you are now talking of despotism of the system we lived under. But I would like to ask you: when were you more sincere, when over the period of forty years you occupied administrative posts in the party and were dealing with propaganda of communist ideas, or now, when you reject these ideas? Thank you.

[Yakovlev] Well, you know, your question pushes me, perhaps, to a policy of justifying myself. I should sort of justify myself, that at a time I did not fully understand something or I had a different character. I shall not do this. I shall not do this. I asked these questions myself. I am more interested in what others and what I were doing in that system, in the transition system and so on and so forth. If you said that I, at a particular time, in a particular year and under particular circumstances, acted badly, I would have answered this question of yours with pleasure. If you want to ask me about ideological, perhaps, vision and how it developed, then again I would not say that all of us began to see clearly immediately. It is easier for you. It is more difficult for us. You know, in 1941 when I went to the war, I was, you know, very strict in my views and for me, so to speak, the fight for the motherland...it is clear...I, though some reject this and claim it never happened, I was shouting: for the Motherland and for Stalin, and I was doing this sincerely. I was doing this sincerely. I did not have a slightest doubt about wisdom and irreproachableness, and so on and so forth; I did not have these doubts. The first doubt appeared when they whipped up prisoners, prisoners from Germany to here and all of them were taken to prisons and camps. And I knew how people were taken prisoner, I saw it. So, these were my boys and my comrades and this, you know, insulted me, if you wish, and then I began to think slowly.

[Zhelnarova] During the war?

[Yakovlev] Yes, I returned in 1945.

[Zhelnarova] During the war, yes?

[Yakovlev] Yes, in 1945.

[Zhelnarova] But why then did you start work in the Central Committee apparatus from 1953 ?

[Yakovlev] Why not? It was considered an honor when you were appointed to the Central Committee.

[Torchinskiy] Your time is up.

[Zhelnarova] But you began to have doubts? Excuse me.

[Yakovlev] What of it? That was not my only doubt. I, by the way, met very few people even in the party apparatus who were without doubts. What sort of doubts is another matter. I know people who now work in the apparatus who are quite decent people and good comrades. You know, let us not now—I have not once but always spoken against witch-hunts, as those publications were doing. Now that their high moral tone has become more quiet, I shall be speaking out categorically, if the other side starts a witch-hunt. This, you know, is not what I call democracy.

[Unidentified speaker] Aleksandr Nikolayevich, I should make one more correction because all that I said was not in any way connected with ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA. I was looking for Lena Tokareva for two days and could not find her, and so I did not manage this.

[Zvereva] I have announced IZVESTIYA already and would like to draw your attention by saying that IZVESTIYA has changed now a little, there is a small card to this effect here. Now the founders of that newspaper are the working collective, and this is the final stage of the struggle which the journalists of that paper were carrying on. I think that many of its readers know this. So, here is Nikolay Andreyev.

[Correspondent Andreyev] Nikolay Andreyev, IZVESTIYA. One could make about a 90 percent prediction that this coup was doomed. But the first serious attack on Gorbachev, and you too, was attempted in 1988 in connection with the publication of the well-known letter by Nina Andreyeva. And it seemed then that this coup could have been accomplished quite easily. However, it did not happen. Aleksandr Nikolayevich, why did it not happen then?

[Yakovlev] I myself wonder now why it did not happen.

[Andreyev] You were in Mongolia and Gorbachev was in Yugoslavia...

[Yakovlev] Yes, I was in Mongolia and Mikhail Sergeyevich was in Yugoslavia. They phoned me from Moscow that the article had appeared. It was quickly sent to me, my aide telephoned Irkutsk, and they sent it. I read it. Well, my reaction was understandable. I shall not dwell on it here, but the other thing has occurred to me—I know the ways of the apparatus—and first of all I thought that it had clearly been sanctioned. Such an article could not appear without being sanctioned by the leadership. Because this was indeed an anti-perestroyka manifest. It was indeed meant to overturn everything that was conceived in 1985. And what especially surprised me was the form in which it was done.

You are a journalist and you will perhaps agree with me. It had a firm, sort of a Stalinist accusatory form in the style of the front pages of our old newspapers. In other words, there was a shout of command. You know, if this was an average article based on this theme I would not pay attention to it. But this was a harsh bellow of a command—stop, everything is over! I returned the same day. I think Mikhail Sergeyevich arrived the next day.

[Andreyev] He arrived three days later.

[Yakovlev] Or, three days later. I discussed this with comrades. The newspapers' editors began to phone me: what should they do? Well, I started to reproach some of them, including—excuse me—your paper, saying: why are you keeping silent? Why are you waiting for the arrival, why waiting for orders? I remember that one young Leningrad journalist made me happy. He was not very experienced and he appeared in a newspaper giving a clear evaluation of what had happened. I learned the details of how this article was being prepared in Central Committee, which of the SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA staff went to Leningrad, who that person was—the head of the science department. How did it go down here, what meeting took place at the Central Committee. There was a meeting of the Secretariat which approved all this business. We started preparing an article—nearly underground.

[Andreyev] Who were we?

[Yakovlev] Well, you know, not very many of us, shall we say. Yes, and when Mikhail Sergeyevich arrived I went to him to talk and fortunately he was prepared for this conversation, he had also read it. He instructed me to deliver an extensive report at the Politburo by way of a speech and he approved of the fact that the draft of an article already existed. He read it. He followed up very closely when with a comrade from PRAVDA we polished up the article. And he read all the amendments saying: Yes. What's this? What's that? And he attached very great importance to this. The Politburo spent two days on the article. All the members of the Politburo had their say and expressed their views. Mikhail Sergeyevich's opening remarks were very harsh—he gave a very severe assessment of the article—and as a result, as happens with us, with our very high sense of principle and probity, everyone of course agreed with that view.

Admittedly there were the following riders: Yes, of course, it's a bad article. You, Aleksandr Nikolayevich, should keep a closer eye on the press! They went on like that. And first one newspaper, then another picked this up. I even made the suggestion: Why are we to share functions. Let me deal with agriculture, and you be in charge of the media. And then we'll see how things turn out!

Regrettably, when the article was published, letters started arriving at the Central Committee criticizing the PRAVDA article and backing the article in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA. There were all sorts of resolutions in party organizations. Of course, the whole thing was engineered. I now know that there were telephone calls from the Party Organs Department asking how to organize the whole thing. I believe that we all won then, but I have the feeling that we also lost out in some way. We lost out because the local party organizations adopted not the PRAVDA article, but the one in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA as their guide to practical action.

[Torchinskiy] I've got to make another interruption. My colleagues will know that I do that rarely enough. But I have to interrupt our discussion. I have just been brought some news. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has given up his post as General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and a decree is awaited on the transfer of CPSU property, or nationalization, something like that. [Applause from program guests]

[Yakovlev] I can confirm that report. I can confirm it.

[Zvereva] Well, it's a very appropriate moment to let our PRAVDA journalist have a say. I'd just like to remind you that yesterday the paper also came out with a new masthead saying "General Political Newspaper of the CPSU". The paper did not come out today as a result of the suspension of its activity. However, according to Lyubov Pyatiletova, the CPSU Central committee has not noticed the loss. So over to you, Lyubov Pyatiletova.

[Pyatiletova] I'd first like to thank my colleagues from Russian Television for their professional solidarity and for their courage, for inviting to their studio a journalist from a banned newspaper.

[Unidentified speaker] It's suspended.

[Pyatiletova] Let's call it that. This was the first time since it came into being that an issue failed to appear. Now for my question. In the statement by the collective of the PRAVDA editorial board published in the last issue before closure, the journalists admitted that many years of dependence on instructions from above had prevented the collective from giving a timely and unambiguous assessment of the coup. a step toward democracy and independence was made, albeit late. Do you think, Aleksandr Nikolayevich, that this tardiness should serve as a basis for closing down the paper? And, in connection with this, I think that belated enlightenment has also come to many thousands of communists during these difficult days. Should this be a pretext for the moral persecution of these people?

[Yakovlev] I'll start with the second of your two questions. I oppose and have opposed the moral persecution of democrats. I think I have the right to object categorically to this. I have written and spoken about this. I have toiled and agonized and lost sleep and even gone to hospital—what things I didn't go through! nevertheless it went on for five years. Five years. But I also categorically object to the moral persecution of anyone else, including former communists, particularly rank-and-file communists. I am aware, for example, that there were communists among the people on the barricades at the House of Soviets. They weren't there on the instructions of rayon party committees, but at the behest of their own consciences. No, I am against witch-hunts and against vandalism. Some stone-throwing against rayon party committees has already been observed in places. Everything should be done in accordance with the law. If we have embarked on the path of creating a law-governed democratic state, why should we reiterate the junta and its methods? Yes, the junta came along and would have acted in a highhanded way, but the workers of PRAVDA should not forget that the junta left PRAVDA alone. I do not reproach you personally about this. I do not know you. But the junta left PRAVDA alone an able to publish since it trusted it. Naturally, this was the case too with SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA corespondent] Do you think that it was quite different with TRUD?

[Yakovlev] I think that TRUD was left alone for a quite different reason. TRUD represents the working class and, moreover, it has a print-run of 18 million or so copies, and to close down TRUD would mean straightaway to fall out with the attitudes of the workers. Here I would make a sharp distinction and I think that people understand why TRUD was left alone.

[Torchinskiy] Right, that still leaves the first question.

[Pyatiletova] Yes.

[Yakovlev] The first question?

[Pyatiletova] On whether you approve or support the closure of newspapers.

[Yakovlev] You know, I do not support the closure of any newspaper and shall never demand the closure of any newspaper with the exception, of course, of fascist newspapers, which, for instance, flout human dignity, hound people, and openly lie and propagate violence. Well, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA perhaps comes into that category. You know, I find this very difficult to demand, but of course it deserves to be closed down, because it has been systematically causing dissension in society and splitting it. Indeed, I gave MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI an article on the day following the coup in which I explained the reasons for my leaving the party. In this article I wrote—perhaps it will be published sometime—that the main publication for splitting Russian society is the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA. I keep to that viewpoint, if one reads the newspaper carefully.

[Torchunskiy] If you please. Since you have started, you still have the right.

[Pyatiletova] A further question, and I stress that this question is not a reproach, Aleksandr Nikolayevich. I remember the October plenum, 1987, when you did not speak in support of Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin. Now at the present time you stand shoulder-to-shoulder with Boris Nikolayevich. Would you tell us please what your opinion is: if at that time you—the progressive section of the Politburo and Secretariat of the CPSU Central Committee—had supported Boris Nikolayevich, could we have avoided the present dramatic events and perhaps directed perestroyka somewhat otherwise along a more...a different path?

[Yakovlev] No, whether or not I had backed him at the time, you know, would have resolved absolutely nothing. That is the first point. Second, if you read carefully my speech—however strange it might be—I accused him of conservatism. Just read it. I accused him of conservatism. I said at the time, you think you are making revolutionary speeches, but you are speaking from very conservative positions. And for that reason—I'll be very frank and I hope Boris Nikolayevich won't be offended, but incidentally our relations have never deteriorated since then, and we have remained in very comradely relations ever since, and I think that will continue—Boris Nikolayevich has also gone through a revolution of his own, followed his own path: from the tough secretary of the party oblast committee to the leader of the democratic forces of Russia and of the country. I've known him a very long time—a very long time. And, well, actually we all follow our own path. If you were to ask me whether I would write that article in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA today as I wrote it then, in 1972, although it was considered very progressive, and I suffered for it at the time, and so on—I wouldn't write it in that way, I wouldn't write that nonsense about convergence as I did; because all I knew about convergence was what was being printed in the newspapers at the time. Otherwise I really knew nothing about it. There I reproached Marcuse without having read Marcuse, but having read reviews of Marcuse. That's the situation; and of course now that I have read Marcuse, I wouldn't write anything of the sort. But I still don't disown the part of the article where I spoke of the danger of great-power chauvinism, and the danger of anti-Semitism, and the danger of nationalism, and I still stand by it today. [Zvereva] Thank you. Aleksandr Nikolayevich, my colleagues are very worried about time, and I especially, because usually Russian Television asks its questions last, after all the newspapers. There are still four more newspapers to go, with me representing Russian Television.

[Yakovlev] Well, just try to reply briefly to those questions of Boris Yeltsin today!

[Zvereva] We sympathize with you, but nonetheless we have our own interests in mind too. So now he have MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSITI, and let MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS get ready.

[Correspondent Orlov] Vladimir Orlov. Aleksandr Nikolayevich, evidently the events of the last few days have accelerated reform to such an extent that we shall be moving at the speed of Eastern Europe. I hope this will bring a nationwide presidential election nearer. Tell me, who would you, as a voter, like to see as presidential candidates? How do you see it? Or do you think Gorbachev is the first and last president of the Soviet Union?

[Yakovlev] No I think, however, that the "Nine Plus One" treaty will be signed. Perhaps, it will be somehow modified, perhaps, in favor of the republics, but it will be signed, nevertheless. Of course, there will be presidential elections later on. I do not know whether or not there will be a constitution. Maybe we will be left with this treaty. I for one am in favor of having, as a continuation of this treaty or maybe even as the basis of a future treaty, an economic union of republics, and I am in favor of implementing the idea laid down in the 500-day program.

Incidentally, my recent conversations with leaders of the Baltic republics—they came to me during those frightening days; they, too, were greatly worried about everything since the seizures had started there, down to local executive committees and so on; I asked them to compile lists showing who did that, who came, what ranks and on whose orders. On the whole, they are very much in favor of, and regard as realistic, the creation of an economic union, a single economic field. Life itself would show, apparently, what would grow in this economic field later. This is my view.

[Orlov] But do you see a place for a union president there or this post is no longer valid since this is only in the economic field?

[Yakovlev] No, I think there must be some kind of stabilizing figure in the country, there must be. For the time being we are a nuclear power, do not forget about this. After all, we are now still a country with a single push-button, regrettably or not.

[Unidentified correspondent] And how do you like the activity...

[Torchinskiy] No, just a moment. You please.

[Zvereva] I have already announced the MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS newspaper, but before giving the floor to this newspaper I would like to say that, like many other publications taking part in today's program today, representatives of these publications played simply an outstanding role during those days; I hope you will agree with me, Aleksandr Nikolayevich. For example, two xerox machines burned out at the MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS whilst the MEGAPOLIS EXPRESS published more than seven leaflets over two days; and KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA and NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA operated as news agencies. And many journalists present here spent three days in the White House. This is a propos the role of journalists in our time. So, over to the MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS.

[Correspondent Lapik] My name is Andrey Lapik. Aleksandr Nikolayevich, it was, after all, a very strange coup. Maybe it was carried out by dunces of drunks, but, nevertheless, why did not they go all the way? In your view, what has caused the their defeat and was not it a kind of rehearsal before a really serious danger which will loom over the country and will strangle democracy?

[Yakovlev] You know, I absolutely agree with your evaluation of the organization of the coup. But as for why—I have the following thoughts on this account. First, these people, absolutely cut off from what was going on at the grassroot level, had the idea that one could make use of the appalling situation at the consumer market, especially after a monetary reform which I also regard—not monetary reform but price rises—which I also regard as economic and ideological preparation for the coup. They believed that the people, tired, hungry and cold, would take up straight away the slogans which are well-known to everybody, on the whole, but still attractive: let us do this in one week, that in three days, and yet another thing in a month, and there could be no doubt that everything would be available in two weeks. Who could be against that? And they counted on such support, although that was nothing but another show of demagoguery. Perhaps this is clear to us here but to a simple and tired housewife it is not always clear.

Second, I think, after all, they overestimated their work in the Army. They believed that since there were political bodies there, especially such powerful and harsh ones, which I know about—I have letters, servicemen were put in the detention cell for reading OGONEK or MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI—they thought that those soldiers and officers, up to the rank of general, would pounce upon their people like beasts and would start shooting from the hip right, left and center. Nothing came of it, nothing came of it! And this, in my view, was one of the reasons of their great disappointment. They began to experience confusion, I know about this hour by hour. Their confusion already started showing late on the 19th, not to mention early 20th.

[Lapik] That is why their hands were shaking.

[Yakovlev] Yes. I received information from the Kremlin about the movement of vehicles. After all, sometimes one can, judging by the way a vehicle moves this side or the other, how confident its movements are...and then there was such an impression...a comrade phoned me, he was purposely observing everything and reporting to me, and said that they had started fidgeting like cockroaches on a hot griddle, it seemed they did not know which way to go.

Well, and the army showed itself...the army that was here proved its worthiness, in most cases, and I think that, if you wish, it has restored its honor in the eyes of many people, the honor that was damaged not by the army itself but by the top brass, by those...not by generals but by those owners of dachas. But the main thing was the people, of course. No doubt, they did not expect the people to go out in the streets and, despite all orders, threats and warnings, to start doing what they had to do, even to building barricades.

I will simply tell you just a funny story: my son was on the barricades untill 0630. He phoned me at 0430 and said: Dad, dad, they have shrunk, I did not understand at first what he was talking about. What? They have shrunk, retreated, that is. Well, I said, that is good. Well, and that way it ended. So, could they believe that such famous divisions as the Kantemirov and Taman would prove, on the whole, to be of higher intelligence than the USSR Minister of Defense?

[Zvereva] Nikolay Dorofeyev from TRUD newspaper, please.

[Correspondent Dorofeyev] Nikolay Dorofeyev from TRUD. Aleskandr Nikolayevich, I have the following question to you. You have just said that you categorically oppose any kind of witch-hunt, persecution of Communists and so on. But in connection with this how can you comment on the Russian President's decree on suspending the activity of the Russian Communist Party or, for example, on suspending a number of newspapers, including party ones? Do you see any discord here?

[Yakovlev] Well, you see, in my view this was done on the spur of the moment: some were closed down while others were left open. Now you youself should try not to be published (as heard). Well I think the issue should be formulated differently now. Property should be nationalized: all publishing houses and newspapers should be made independent. There should not be newspapers as organs, the so-called newspaper organs, this is awfully funny, an organ of something. I think that all the newspapers should be published, including those that have been suspended, but it is up to me to decide what newspapers to read or not to read, what newspapers to subscribe to or not. I do not think that if the SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA should continue to be brought out now, anybody would subscribe to it, although the Leningrad Initiative members could subscribe to it, people affected by somber nostalgia, so to speak, and such like.

[Dorofeyev] Aleksandr Nikolayevich, please allow me ask one more question, also referring to what you said today. You said that you could distinguish certain other silhouettes behind the portraits of participants in the Committee for the State of Emergency. Could we raise the curtain a little bit to reveal what you distinguish, so to speak? Perhaps, you could tell us who they could be?

[Yakovlev] No, I will not do this, you know, because I have no facts, and since there are no facts, you know, an innocent person could be hurt. Maybe I feel that he must have been among them but, perhaps, he was not there at all.

[Unidentified speaker] Like the Mendeleyev table.

[Yakovlev] Yes. You know, General Varennikov, for example, is not among the eight.

But he went to force the president to sign a decree of benediction. He went and, as the president told me today, he was the only one who began to shout at him that he should either resign or sign and bless this whole affair with a decree. So, you see, I have mentioned one instance, but perhaps this is not at all the only occasion, not at all the only occasion.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent] Boldin was also sent to him to have it signed.

[Zvereva] Aleksandr Nikolayevich, your personality will dominate our program simply. We are all moving on to a general conversation. And we still have to hear from KRASNAYA ZVEZDA and I have only three minutes left.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent] Aleksandr Nikolayevich. Over the recent period the authorities in office have thrown the army onto that sort of course so many times, have dragged it into such serious conflicts and then hidden behind the backs of people in epaulettes. What is there to say? You used to wear epaulettes too and you know how this was done, through the oath. Aleksandr Nikolayevich, do you understand what needs to be done now so that, you understand, so that adventurists—whether they have marshals' epaulets or whether they are vested with some higher authority—should never again throw the army into such hell? It's a good thing, as you said yourself, that it turned out that this very powerful army machine did not function in their hands. What would have been if it had worked? So what do we have to do? What do you think?

[Yakovlev] Unity is a paradoxical thing, though. There is an oath and an oath must be kept, but what if your minister hasn't kept his oath to the commander-in-chief of the USSR armed forces?

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA corespondent] But many officers believe that there is another officer's duty that he did not fulfill. A real officer would have shot himself in this situation.

[Yakovlev] Well, that's another matter. I am talking about the oath, about the oath. Then, as far as I can recall, perhaps since then...it's a long time since I did my service and took my oath... perhaps it has changed—but I remember that I gave my oath to serve. At that time there was the party, but there was an oath to serve the people, the fatherland, and the motherland. And there were moments, you recall them well, when it was permitted—that was in 1942—for any soldier to shoot an officer who suddenly displayed cowardice, and it could be done without trial or investigation. On the battlefield, of course. So all kinds of things take place in the army. Well, I don't wish to compare the situation during the war with the current one, but nevertheless, nevertheless.

So who have kept their oaths, who have kept their oaths now? I believe that those who stood to defend the White House have kept their oaths. It is they who have kept their oaths and performed their civic duty. Shaposhnikov, the present commander of the Air Force and now defense minister, kept his oath. From the first hour, or hours, he stated that he would only be subordinate to the constitutional organs of authority. And as a further guarantee I believe that the army should be departyized and it should not serve either the party or any parties which might arise, but it should indeed serve the people and the state.

[Zvereva] Nina Zvereva, Russian Television. Aleksandr Nikolayevich. Please answer yes or no. Could this coup have been successful?

[Yakovlev] No, but I have a proviso. It could have been successful for a certain period of time, but it was doomed nevertheless. It was doomed nevertheless. I am convinced that even if the White House had been crushed, say, and all the leaders who were there—the investigation will show who they intended to arrest and shoot—I have a deportation form which I somehow got hold of and it had already been signed. The deportation form doesn't state how they will deport you. Your surname is written on it. I'm sorry that I didn't bring it to show the television viewers...

[Torchinskiy] And where would they deport people to, to Luzhniki [Moscow stadium]?

[Yakovlev] Yes, like under Pinochet you mean? Well, who knows where to? People have recently been saying—I don't have any precise data—that they have been cleaning up the old camps.

[Torchinskiy] That they have been renovating them.

[Yakovlev] Renovating them.

[Zvereva] There has been information.

[Yakovlev] I think there has been too.

[Zvereva] If you don't mind, there is scarcely any more time. Is Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev still your friend?

[Yakovlev] Yes, we are on good terms. I have no personal reasons for breaking off my good relations with him.

[Zvereva] Thank you.

[Yakovlev] And then he has never done me any harm personally.

[Zvereva] All right. And now a question I regard as very important. We were talking of the mistakes made by the generals, the ringleaders. What do you regard as the mistakes that the victors could make? Against what would you like to warn the winners?

[Yakovlev] I'd like to warn them against euphoria, something that is sometimes a very significant element leading to mistakes: overestimations of various sorts.

Second, if sometimes a dictatorship turns into a democracy as the result of a struggle, of a revolution, democracy can equally well become a dictatorship. We must be very careful not to be carried away by events, with people tempted to break the law and commit illegal acts, with people carried away by their emotions suddenly starting to smash windows, illegally tearing things down, breaking and destroying monuments for instance. Take monuments. Whatever our attitude to them might be, they are called monuments because they are designed to commemorate things. People need to be able to remember things. Perhaps in Moscow it's worth gathering bronze monuments all in one place, but they have to be preserved. Let mankind in 100 years be able to see that there were these people and these are the monuments they had. I don't see anything wrong in that. What's the point of destroying everything. One can understand all the emotions..

[Torchinskiy] I beg your pardon, Aleksandr Nikolayevich. Time is against us. You have one second. You know many of these people. Do they indeed believe in the socialist ideal or is it just a screen for their own...

[Yakovlev] No, that's lies, of course. Least of all...

[Torchinskiy] Just ordinary lies.

[Yakovlev] I've been writing against it all the time, well, let's say not all the time but at least over the last two, three, or four years. I am against, say, the socialist choice, against, say, Marxism, but I believe in it more than they, those who defend it.

[Torchinskiy] Thank you very much. Regretfully we've run out of time.

[Zvereva] Vesti, which everyone is always waiting for, is about the go on the air.

[Torchinskiy] I hope my colleagues share my gratitude and hope to meet you both on this and other programs of Russian Television.

[Yakovlev] Thank you, thank you, gladly.

[Zvereva] Thank you.

Yavlinskiy Discusses Forming Union Government

LD2608190291 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 26 Aug 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Vladislav Flyarkovskiy, our commentator, talked to Grigoriy Yavlinskiy in the lobby of the Supreme Soviet during an interval in today's session. We were interested, naturally, in the kind of work this economist and his colleagues are conducting to reform the Council of Ministers.

[Begin recording] [Flyarkovskiy] An interval has been announced. The USSR has been given yet another provisional government. There are only four of you. How do you rate the chances of the four?

[Yavlinskiy] First of all, I do not regard it as a provisional government.

[Flyarkovskiy] That was a joke.

[Yavlinskiy] I regard this group as a group which, on behalf of President Gorbachev and President Yeltsin, so far as I understand, has been instructed to develop proposals for forming a new USSR government.

[Flyarkovskiy] There is a view that, as a result of the coup, the state system has to be changed.

[Yavlinskiy] I think that, in fact, the state system can be changed only as a result of successful economic reform, otherwise it will remain on paper, since a state system means relations between people.

[Flyarkovskiy] Perhaps the president is of the same view, since he has included you in the four?

[Yavlinskiy] I do not know: he included me in various commissions and groups many times, but it did not mean anything.

[Flyarkovskiy] Your words sound too pessimistic. Do you have no hope? He may include you in another body, then in yet another one?

[Yavlinskiy] No, I think that the issue in question is important, truly important. And perhaps it is good that this issue is not being solved off-handedly, simply by appointments, and in such a traditional style, you know, such as: please, provide a list of names, we will mark those whom we will appoint. As these are good people, let us appoint them.

[Flyarkovskiy] But you know, perhaps, who is good and who is bad.

[Yavlinskiy] It depends on their tasks. [end recording]

Views Economic Body's Role

PM2708081491 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Aug 91 Union Edition p 1

[I. Demchenko report incorporating account of interview with Grigoriy Yavlinskiy Sunday (25 August): "Grigoriy Yavlinskiy: We Will Have To Work in a Situation Which It Is No Exaggeration To Call an Emergency"]

[Text] As is well known, a USSR presidential decree was issued 24 August, under which the operational administration of the country's national economy is entrusted to a committee headed by I. Silayev and his deputies A. Volskiy, Yu. Luzhkov, and G. Yavlinskiy.

Late Sunday evening we managed to contact G. Yavlinskiy and obtain from him firsthand but still very minimal information.

We do not know who selected the leading cadres for the interim [vremennyy] government, the role of which (hopefully not a historic role) will be filled by the committee. Grigoriy Alekseyevich himself learned of his appointment quite unexpectedly, following the signing of the decree. He had no preliminary discussions with anyone or, clearly, with the other deputies.

Following the signing of the decree, he had a meeting with M. Gorbachev at which, in particular, the name of "Committee for the Continuous Working of the National Economy" was presented. One would like to hope that it will not be ratified, since it gears the new organ not to the implementation of radical economic reform, but to a repetition of the old government's activities in its worst aspects—monitoring railcar movements, the progress of loading and unloading, the fulfillment of plans, and so forth. The committee leaders see their task not as being to duplicate local organs or to "lead" the country's entire national economy from the center, but as being to coordinate the efforts of the republics and all society's progressive forces to get the country out of crisis—this was stated to the USSR president.

For a number of reasons—chief among which was the suddenness of their appointment—the committee members failed to meet together Sunday. The first session began Monday at 0700 with I. Silayev in the chair. As G. Yavlinskiy said, he is prepared to propose candidates for the committee and has ideas on what the organ's first resolutions should be about. Clearly, the other members of the leadership brought their own proposals to the first session. They have been given just two days to form an interim government.

They will have to work in a situation which it is no exaggeration to call an emergency, getting to know each other as they go along, and implementing extremely unpopular measures—something which the USSR president has already warned of. They realize this, but none of them has refused to risk their popularity and the popular trust which they all deserve.

Procurator Denies Rumors of Lukyanov Arrest

LD2608042191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0400 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] The RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY reports that Valentin Stepankov, procurator general of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, has refuted rumors circulating that USSR Supreme Soviet Chairman Anatoliy Lukyanov has been arrested.

Komsomol Central Committee Issues Statement

LD2608225991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1820 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, 26 August (TASS)—On Sunday, the bureau of the Komsomol Central Committee Secretariat adopted a decision on holding, on 4 September in Moscow, a plenum of the Central Commitee. In this regard, the Central Committee Secretariat has addressed members of the Union.

The document says, in particular, that over the past few days, the country has acquired a completely new face. This will inevitably lead to the fundamental alteration of all political institutions, and the path toward a gradual reform of the Komsomol has also been exhausted.

In its address to Komsomol members, the Komsomol Central Committee Secretariat proposes:

First: To consider as ended the political role of the Komsomol in its current form, and to turn to every organization and to members of the union with a proposal on self-determination.

Second: Respecting the adoption of state independence by a number of republics, we stress that the constituent elements of the current Komsomol should strictly abide by the laws of their states. Consequently, the Komsomol no longer exists as a united federation.

Thirdly: Taking into account the priorities in the orientation of the Komsomol which have been recently selected, we would ask members of the Central Committee and Komsomol members to express their attitude to the possibility of forming the following structures on the basis of the Komsomol:

—a youth wing of the Movement for Democratic Reforms;

—a youth organization of a bloc of left-wing forces;

—an independent political party—the Party of Democratic Youth;

—a depoliticized and de-ideologized organization for the social protection of young people.

Vozhagov on Resource Distribution Difficulties

LD2608204891 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Interview with Vladimir Kondratyevich Vozhagov, by Aleksandr Lutskiy; place and date not given; from the "Vremya" newscast—recorded]

[Excerpts] By decree of the USSR president, a Committee for the Operational Administration of the Country's National Economy has been set up, headed by Ivan Silayev. Control over questions of material-technical supply has been entrusted to Vladimir Kondratyevich Vozhagov, the chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic State Committee for Insuring Republican and Regional Programs.

[Lutskiy] Vladimir Kondratyevich, do we have enough material-technical resources at the present time to insure a normal life in Russia?

[Vozhagov] When people ask me such a question I am immediately compelled to start with provisos. If we are talking about the old approach, about the old, so to speak, balance method which we have—if you like, perfected—and as a result of which major failures have happened in our country every year, then one may say straightaway, no, we do not. We do not because production has dropped in a number of fields in a very serious way, there is no secret about that; second, immense difficulties have arisen with our imports, in connection with the fact that our finances are being used up to purchase food and essential commodities, such as medicines. Today we have adopted a program for the transition to a market economy. This program provides for including powerful potential, the potential of enterprise. [passage omitted]

[Lutskiy] How does the committee of which you are in charge differ from the Gossnab [materials and technical supplies state committee]?

[Vozhagov] Well, the basic difference is that the Gossnab distributed resources directly—I may be putting it rather crudely, but I will say it—without being responsible for the overall results of this distribution and redistribution. We, on the other hand, have been conceived as a committee organizer, a committee which would create normal conditions for the functioning of a system in which the producer and the consumer may work normally—well, as we say, laterally linked to a greater extent. The second function is this: It is essential that state interests are protected by resources. For that purpose we must purchase a part of them according to the same rules and according to the same laws for state needs, for the Army, for defense, for export supplies and commitments, for inter-republican supplies, and for a small reserve. We shall implement these functions through our own units.

Reflections on Committee News Conference

PM2108153091 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 21 Aug 91 p 5

[Article by special correspondents An. Balebanov and V. Raskin: "Life Will Answer the Questions"]

[Text] On our way to the USSR Foreign Ministry press center, we thought to ourselves: Events are taking place before our very eyes which, in time, many people will write about in different ways. And clearly it is not only a question of which press organ you represent or what your personal attitude is to the processes taking place in society. There is also an inevitable element of "being there"—trying to see as much as possible with your own eyes. And in this respect we and our colleagues who were at the press conference given by members of the State Committee for the State of Emergency were, you could say, "lucky." We could obtain at first hand answers to the questions that have naturally arisen since the moment when we heard on the radio the "Statement of the Soviet Leadership" and the "Appeal to the Soviet People."

This issue of the newspaper gives a full account of the press conference, which lasted exactly an hour. We realize that every minute of the committee members' time is filled. All the same, we were left with questions that we wanted answered. We felt that our colleagues—both Soviet and foreign journalists—had not prepared their questions in advance. It was a pity. The improvisations did not allow us to obtain the maximum amount of information. For instance, why did Prime Minister V.S. Pavlov not come to the press conference? Although the USSR Foreign Ministry briefing had said that he would take part in the meeting. We had prepared questions specifically for him: After all, Valentin Sergeyevich Pavlov had already, during the final days of the fifth session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, put forward a "dissenting" attitude toward what is happening in the country and asked parliament outright to "grant him emergency powers," which, in his view, could substantially rectify matters. Only the day before, the USSR Cabinet of Ministers Presidium had expressed concern that the text of the Union Treaty did not resolve a number of vitally important problems affecting the vital interests of the national economy and Soviet people. This meant food, fuel, and the functioning of the single financial and banking system. V.V. Gerashchenko, chairman of the USSR Gosbank [State Bank] Board, "sounded the alarm"—the end of control over the monetary system will lead to a fall in the exchange rate for the Soviet ruble. How can you sign the Union Treaty without this? Does this mean that the government had a "premonition" of the situation? And during the press conference a question occurred to us after G.I. Yanayev's words: "We want to draw up an inventory of what we have." Naturally, we wanted to ask V.A. Starodubtsev: "Can you be sure that food in the country, given careful accounting and carefully considered utilization in various regions, will appear not only in the hands of speculators, but in the stores too? What is there in the country? How much? Does anyone know?"

We did not have time to ask our questions. And we have a proposal for readers—help us, by joint efforts, to sketch in SELSKAYA ZHIZN a picture of the real state of affairs as regards food. Who is better placed than the peasants to help get to the bottom of this very confused problem?...

Western journalists were absolutely hanging on every word uttered by G.I. Yanayev and the other participants in the press conference. And that is not surprising. All the world's major news agencies were periodically transmitting the latest reports from the Soviet Union, marked "urgent." And yet there was a sense that the lack of information was fettering the journalists and giving them no scope for well-considered assessments.

We want to end our reflections on the press conference with a suggestion. A kind of chronicle of perestroyka could be provided solely by the questions asked by journalists at various press conferences in just over six years. Let us be frank, the questions of Soviet and particularly foreign correspondents "prodded" the most sensitive and vulnerable aspects of various decisions. Questions sometimes went unanswered... And if these questions were collected together today, we would clearly see the "roots" and "origins" of all our present problems.

For the first time in our country's history, on emerging from a press conference, we saw not only the departing cars of foreign correspondents, but also powerful combat vehicles standing next to the USSR Foreign Ministry press center on Zubovskiy Boulevard. But the tanks looked quite peaceful. Kids were sitting on the armor-plating with the tankmen. Cameramen were filming from the turrets. A modest bunch of flowers lay on one tank. Was it appropriate in this situation? It was put there by Muscovites, and next to it, on the armor-plating, sat some very young tankmen. And they were looking openly into the cameramen's lenses. That is a fact of life.

Our watches showed 1830. And we decided to go to the Great Hall of the P.I. Tchaikovskiy Conservatory, where the Congress of Compatriots opened Monday. We wanted to interview congress participants on their thoughts about what is happening... What is their impression after the forum's first day of work? Alas, we were too late...

On Tverskaya Street we saw 15 buses traveling in the direction of Mayakovskiy Square, carrying congress participants. They passed by Manezhnaya Square, where a not very large rally was continuing at the time. The city was pursuing its day-to-day concerns. There were several armored carriers in Khudozhestvennyy Passage. They were surrounded by people, and an "exchange of opinions" was in progress. Nearby, round the corner, a huge waiting line had formed at a perfumery store. There were plenty of people wanting to buy French cosmetics. The panacea offered by MacDonalds on Tverskaya Street was also doing a roaring trade. Leaflets had been stuck to some of the buildings and columns...

When we were writing up our report late in the evening, out of our office windows we saw armored carriers on PRAVDA Street. And that was also a fact of the capital's life today.

Group Calls for Law Banning Capital Punishment

LD2708105591 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] A group of political and public figures, priests and scientists have appealed to the presidents of the Soviet Union and the Russian Republic, to the deputies of all the legislative bodies in the country, with a proposal to immediately adopt a law on banning capital punishment. They stress it would be a courageous and revolutionary step that the democrats of the entire world expect from the country which in the most dramatic hours made a choice of a highest civic value.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA Suspension Viewed

914B0312B Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 21 Aug 91 p 1

[Article by Yu. Makartsev under the rubric "Visit to KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA": "The Day It Was Not Published"]

[Text] **As everyone knows, by decision of the State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR publication of a number of central and Moscow city and oblast**

public newspapers and journals has been halted. Among those was also the popular youth newspaper KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA. What are its journalists doing these days?

Inasmuch as we reside on Pravda Street in the same building, RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA and KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA share the same stairwell, and my journey to my colleagues only lasted a minute. And there I was on the sixth floor where, incidentally, I had been many times previously. Many people were there just as on any working day. But what was going on?

Looking at a wall, about 15 people were avidly and silently consuming some kind of document hung there. I stood behind them and looked—the document was called "Special Edition of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA on the State of Emergency in the Country on the Night of 19- 20 August." It bore the familiar hand of the "sixth floor!" Naturally the employees could not reconcile themselves with the fact that on 20 August the newspaper would not appear as usual in the kiosks and would not arrive by subscriptions in homes. In spite of everything the main services of the editorial board, awake the entire night, had prepared one copy of the morning's "Special Edition" in typewritten format. I read:

"At 1900 in the Blue Hall of the editorial board there was a meeting at which B. Fronin, the chief editor, announced the forced stoppage of the publication of the newspaper.

"On Monday the French television company TFI, citing a 'source close to the president of Russia,' reported that on Sunday evening Mikhail Gorbachev was supposedly moved from the Crimea to Moscow for meetings with conservative leaders. At the meeting he was supposed to resign from the presidency, but he refused to do this. After that Gorbachev was again moved to the Crimea where he remains to the present."

In the middle of the second night we asked Valentin Karasev, adviser to the president of the USSR on ties with public and state organizations, to comment on this report. He assessed the sensational news of TFI laconically: "Nonsense!"

"Do you know who first warned me about the upcoming 'nonpublication' of the newspaper?" I said to Vladislav Fronin, chief editor of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA: "A correspondent from THE LOS ANGELES TIMES newspaper."

There were many phone calls to the chief editor: Journalists, readers, foreigners—all were interested in how the collective which found itself in such an unfamiliar situation was faring. "We have decided," said V. Fronin, "that all services are to continue working at their usual schedule. We are maintaining discipline and restraint. We will continue this way until there are further official documents concerning the operations of the newspaper." Manyakin, deputy minister of communications, telephoned Fronin to ask his advice in a fashion: What, he said, are we to do? We are taking losses, and soon the subscribers will begin to inundate the telephones of the ministry.

"What are we to do?!" Fronin gestured in dismay. "In the issue which we put out on the 20th there was not a single article, not a single paragraph which could have provoked disorder in the country. Of course, we have always had and have our own position, as well as our own opinion on the latest events in the country. And so I view the ruling of the State Committee for the State of Emergency," added the chief editor, "as, to put it gently, hasty. But is it really a cancellation of glasnost? Has pluralism of opinion really been discarded?"

And so how is the collective to function in the future? Yesterday before noon Fronin returned to the sixth floor from a "high-level meeting" which was attended by editors of those central newspapers which now, as was announced, must be re-registered. The chief editors consulted and decided to temporarily publish a daily publication called OBSHCHAYA GAZETA—to share accommodations, so to say, in such a collective newspaper under a common roof.

"Of course KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA has a different line from, for example, MOSKOVSKOYE NOVOSTI," said Fronin. "But what other opportunity do we have to bring our voice to the readers? Who knows how long is the silence of, I do not hesitate to say, one of the most read papers in the country to last?!"

When I was leaving the sixth floor there was a telephone call to the chief editor from the VLKSM [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] Central Committee. There they also believe that the temporary halt in the publication of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, which is at times overly sharp and cocky "to extremes," but which has the trust of millions of readers, is an anachronism of perestroyka.

After all, as the new Soviet leadership has declared, no one has abolished perestroyka. And, we believe, it must be carried on through common efforts together with KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA.

P.S. We have learned that the question of the renewed publication of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA is being energetically discussed. We hope that this will be decided sooner than "Housing- 2000." Incidentally, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, which traditionally outstrips all others, will learn of this news only from this issue of RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA.

Veterans' Committee Supports New Order

914B0311B Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 21 Aug 91 p 2

["Appeal From Veterans" presented by the All-Union Council of Veterans of War, Labor, and the USSR Armed Forces and the Soviet Committee of War Veterans]

[Text] The All-Union Council of Veterans of War, Labor and the USSR Armed Forces and the Soviet Committee of War Veterans have presented an appeal to all veterans of the Soviet Union. It says, in particular:

"The All-Union Council of Veterans and the Soviet Committee of War Veterans totally and completely support the creation of a State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR and the declaration of the state of emergency in individual areas of the country. In the present extremely difficult crisis situation this measure is not only necessary but also quite justified and unavoidable. We are expressing confidence that it will be supported by all veterans of war, labor and the USSR Armed forces.

"We call for each veteran and all patriots who are concerned about the fate of our homeland to recognize their civic duty and show responsibility, discipline, and steadfastness in this decisive moment in the history of the state. It is our duty to render all kinds of practical assistance in the implementation of measures adopted by the country's leaders for saving the socialist homeland, stabilizing the political situation, averting an economic collapse, and ensuring the safety and well-being of each Soviet person."

All-Union Council of Veterans of War, Labor and the USSR Armed Forces, the Soviet Committee of War Veterans.

PRAVDA Describes Events of 19 Aug Night

914B0310 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Aug 91 p 2

[Article by Lieutenant Colonel V. Tkachenko, PRAVDA correspondent: "The Night of Our Anxiety"]

[Text] The ancient building of the staff of the Moscow Military District is on Osipenko Street. Located here is the office of Colonel General N. Kalinin, the recently appointed commandant of the capital. An urgent assignment from the editorial board brought me here late at night.

I had many questions about the situation arising in connection with the introduction of a state of emergency in Moscow; I had one doubt: Whether I would receive answers to everything from the obviously busy general. With that I opened the heavy oak door.

Sitting in the interior of the office, the commandant was watching television in peaceful solitude. Pulling himself from the screen for an instant, he nodded his head affably, like an old acquaintance, and pointed to an armchair by way of invitation. Still at a loss, I sat down and only then noticed that he himself, the master of the office, was answering questions of the "Vremya" correspondent.

"So, was everything clear?" Nikolay Vasilyevich asked in a lively manner at the end of the broadcast of his appearance. And in a very simple manner he added, "Do you think I looked too gloomy?"

"Well, is there not reason to?"

"If you are talking about the situation, I will not hide the fact that it really is serious, but it is not worth dramatizing it. This past day has shown that we are in command of the situation and, I will note, first and foremost because we clearly know our sole task: to ensure the uninterrupted functioning of all organs of the life support of the capital. We are determined to carry it out without any kind of violence."

"What is the most serious aspect of the situation?"

"It consists least of all in opposition between servicemen and the population, as some try to affirm, and most of all in the continuing war of laws. It would seem that everything is perfectly clear: A state of emergency has been introduced, and thus we should also have the order which is appropriate to it and which our legislators themselves have sanctioned. But on the contrary, despite the ukase of the acting president, the Moscow Soviet gives its okay for a rally to be conducted. Incidentally, today I talked with a representative of the city mayor's office, and do you know what he called upon me to do? Not to allow bloodshed. For our part we are doing everything possible and impossible to avoid that, and in return we hear the admonitions of those who willingly or unwillingly are urging people to extremes. To the commendation of the majority of the residents of the capital, they are demonstrating understanding toward us. In any event it was that way today."

"And tonight?"

"In accordance with my official position I do not have the right to be confident that it will continue to be that way. But on a personal level I am very hopeful that it will. In any event, the future will tell. Incidentally, you also have the opportunity to see things yourself today instead of hearing about them tomorrow. The streets of the city, with the exception of Manezh Square and several side streets adjoining the Kremlin, are open to traffic."

And we left. We traveled along that same Osipenko Street and along Sadovyy and Leningrad Prospect. There were the same number of people as always—neither more nor less. In places one met traffic controllers. Only in one place at Tverskoy and the "Mayakovskiy" metro station did an employee of GAI [State Vehicle Inspection] take an interest in our documents. If anything violated the usual appearance of the capital, it was the armored personnel carriers standing at the Main Post Office, the television center, and several large industrial facilities.

At the approach to Manezh Square there were significantly more combat vehicles. Traffic across the square was cut off by a unit of them. Lieutenant Colonel Viktor Evgenyevich Ivanov, who was accompanying me, explained that the vehicles had only appeared there after noon in precise accordance with the time of the declaration of the Ukase on the State of Emergency. Stopping, we approached one of the officers who, with his soldiers, was talking with some woman who had climbed up to him on an APC. Excusing himself, he jumped down and presented himself: Captain Nevzorov. When asked what the woman wanted, he answered with a smile that she was a correspondent from PARIS MATCH full of curiosity. We collectively told her what was going on.

Looking around, we noticed at some distance from the standing vehicles small groups of youths talking, as far as we understood, about the most varied things. But it was significant that they were peaceful and, I would even say, decidedly respectful. Most likely there was in that decidedness also a subconscious understanding of how unusual that situation was in which boys in civilian and military clothing have found themselves...

There was a different scene at the approach to the building of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet. At the end, Kadininskiy Prospect was partitioned off with trolley busses. Further on, at the Comecon building, there were barricades of concrete slabs, boards, and metal rods. From whom were they preparing to defend themselves? Were not these fake strongholds raised in order to intensify the psychosis? The closer we came to the "White House" the more people there were, primarily young people. In the hands of some were pieces of metal rods and bottles. Walking alongside me, Viktor Evgenyevich nodded at one of the young people and said, "These are the ones who may spill the blood." Thinking the same thing, I nonetheless could not help but notice that my companion, dressed in his military uniform, did not rouse any obvious animosity from any of them. My hope for common sense was strengthened when I saw something else: Among the combat vehicles standing close to the building of the Supreme Soviet the agitation of the crowd was subsiding. People were noticeably calming down. And a pastry held out by some driver of one of the APC's did not leave any room for doubt: Simple fear was not the cause of this tranquility.

During the night we found a significant accumulation of people in practically all places. Yes, there were servicemen in the majority of these places. But did they not by their presence and by their restraint and benevolence help to ensure the uninterrupted functioning of transportation, airports, train stations, factories, and plants and to remove that anxiety which the capital experienced the first night of the state of emergency? We will hope that the state of emergency is not for long. We will believe that it exists for the good of all of us who have suffered and who await long- expected changes for the better for the residents of Moscow.

Soviet Central Press Reviewed for 27 Aug

LD2708072191 Moscow TASS in English 0654 GMT 27 Aug 91

["Soviet Press Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow August 27 TASS—Today's newspapers focus on the Soviet parliament's extraordinary session, which opened on Monday. The session followed the coup attempt in the country.

On Monday, the session decided to convene an extraordinary congress of people's deputies on September 2.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA and SELSKAYA ZHIZN note that, opening the session, chairman of the Soviet parliament's Council of the Union Ivan Laptev said he burned with shame that the Soviet parliament and its Presidium had pretended that nothing serious had happened.

After deputies approved the agenda, President Mikhail Gorbachev addressed the session. The text of his speech is published by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA and SELSKAYA ZHIZN.

Gorbachev said "the conspiracy had been brewing" and there were more than enough grounds for taking urgent measures to protect the constitutional system.

Analysing the situation in the country, Gorbachev noted that "instead of decisive actions, liberalism and leniency have been shown".

But a still more important reason which made possible "an encroachment on democracy and an attempt to bring the country back to totalitarianism by force" was, according to Gorbachev, "lack of resolution and inconsistency in the making of democratic reforms".

The Soviet president emphasised that "he will not tolerate any indecision in conducting reforms". "From now on, there will be no compromise with those with whom it is impardonable to seek agreement", he said.

In his speech to the Soviet parliament, Russian parliament leader Ruslan Khasbulatov focused on pressing economic tasks. He noted great creative forces should be aimed primarily on radical economic reforms.

Khasbulatov favoured rapid conversion of defence industry enterprises and strengthening of the country's financial and credit footing.

President Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan favoured the signing of the Union treaty of confederation. "It is obvious to us the renovated Union cannot be a federation," Nazarbayev said.

In the future Union, Nazarbayev said, republics will be joined by economic agreements because neither of the fifteen republics stands to gain anything economically from the immediate dissolution. Certain functions will be retained by federal bodies.

Leningrad Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak told the Soviet parliament the elements of the system that "strangled" the reform process should be liquidated first and legal conditions created, after which each nation will have the right to "independence and settlement of its own national problems".

Newspapers also carry other deputies' speeches. They note the session continued its work at 20:30 on Monday. It is expected to resume work at 10:00 today.

Newspapers carry the texts of the Soviet president's decrees on the Soviet Cabinet of Ministers, on suspending the activities of political parties and political movements in the Soviet Armed Forces, law-enforcement bodies and the state apparatus and on the Soviet Communist Party's property.

They also publish the president's decree awarding the title of Hero of the Soviet Union posthumously to Dmitriy Komar, Ilya Krichevskiy and Vladimir Usov. They were killed on Moscow streets during the coup.

Newspapers report the memorial ceremony and funeral in the Soviet capital on Saturday.

Newspapers carry the text of Mikhail Gorbachev's Saturday statement that he did not find it possible to further perform the functions of general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and was stepping down.

Gorbachev noted "the CPSU Central Committee should take a difficult but honest decision on self-disbandment".

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA publishes an appeal by the Soviet Komsomol Secretariat to Komsomol members, reading the Soviet Komsomol plenary meeting on September 4 is planning to disband the organisation and proposing new youth organisations be organised on the basis of the Komsomol.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA carries an interview with an aide-de-camp to former Defence Minister Dmitriy Yazov, who was among the leaders of the plot, and with head of the Soviet Defence Ministry's information department Valeriy Manilov.

The newspaper also interviewed General of the Army Mikhail Moiseyev and new Soviet Defence Minister Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov about the coup.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA reports the Soviet president's military adviser Marshal Sergey Akhromeyev and business manager of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee Nikolay Kruchina have committed suicide.

Military

Gorbachev Promotes Shaposhnikov, Others

PM2608225591

[Editorial Report] Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 August 1991 Single Edition carries on page 1 the text of four USSR presidential decrees as follows:

1) Promoting Colonel General of Aviation Yevgeniy Ivanovich Shaposhnikov to marshal of aviation, dated 26 August 1991.

2) Appointing Pavel Sergeyevich Grachev USSR first deputy minister of defense and chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] State Committee for Defense Questions, and promoting him to colonel general, dated 23 August 1991.

3) Promoting Colonel General Konstantin Ivanovich Kobets to army general, dated 24 August 1991.

4) Promoting Aleksandr Vladimirovich Rutskoy to major general, dated 24 August 1991.

Shapashnikov Interviewed on Coup Attempt

Details Coup Events

PM2708085591 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 27 Aug 91 p 3

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA interview with USSR Defense Minister Marshal of Aviation Ye. Shaposhnikov; date and place of interview not specified; first five paragraphs are introduction: "Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov: 'I Sensed Something Was Wrong. But I Had No One To Share This Feeling With on the Morning of 19 August.'" Item is part of a three-quarter page feature put together by Andrey Krayniy under the general headline "This Is No Business for Generals... But All the Same It Is a Good Thing That the People and the Army Are United"]

[Text] Yesterday the USSR president conferred the title marshal of aviation on the defense minister.

Extract from a KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA file:

"I was born in 1942 in Rostov Oblast to what was the normal wartime working class family comprising a mother and three children. My father died literally a few days before the war ended—27 April 1945—in East Prussia and for a long time we were unable to visit his grave. I found it by chance. In 1981 I was on exercises in the Baltic; I was aided by personnel from the Kaliningrad Military Commissariat. I arrived in the village of Russkoye, walked up to the stela on a fraternal grave, and read: 'Sergeant Ivan Sevastyanovich Shaposhnikov'"—this is an extract from a KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA interview with Colonel General of Aviation Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander-in-chief of the Air Force, 26 August 1990.

The new defense minister is a flier; he ended by flying MiG-23's; he was not grounded for health reasons since even today he can take the controls of a fighter.

On learning of his appointment Gen. Shaposhnikov left the CPSU saying: "The Army is outside of political parties and movements."

[Shaposhnikov] I was woken at 0430 hours and ordered to be with the defense minister at 0600 hours. After gathering us together, Yazov said that the situation in the country had become complex, President Gorbachev was ill, and Yanayev was carrying out his duties. He also said that emergency measures were needed to restore order. I felt uneasy from the first few moments of this speech. Who could I share this feeling with? When we came out I said to Admiral Kapitanets, first deputy commander-in-chief of the Navy: "I don't like all this, Ivan Matveyevich." He agreed with me and we went away.

On the first day I put my main efforts into ensuring that our aviation committed no wrongful actions. I tried to speak with and did speak with some members of the collegium. From these conversations it became clear that I would have difficulty in finding allies. The point is that at this time people were not being totally frank. When the situation deteriorated 20 August—I decided to go to see the defense minister in the afternoon. I told him face to face that we had to get out of this situation in a proper manner. He said to me: "Is there really a proper way of doing this?" I said: "Yes." "What?" "We've got to bring the troops back to their permanent basing locations now, disperse and disband this committee, declare it illegal, transfer power to the Supreme Soviet, and reinstate the president." Members of the collegium came in then and our conversation ended. The defense minister told me: "Be vigilant, you're free." I went home and tried to reach General Achalov, who didn't answer, and then the defense minister—he too failed to answer. I reached hero of the Soviet Union Grachev, commander of airborne troops.

We talked for a long time. I realized from our conversations that this man espoused the same positions as I did. We agreed under threat of death not to carry out any orders that might bring about irreparable actions. We formulated several options if such orders came. There was the option of seizing this junta and other options that were more terrifying both for us and everyone else. After we had reached an understanding, I told the Russian parliament: You can be confident about the airborne troops and the air forces—we will take no action and will try to do everything we can to ensure that other categories of troops don't take part in this adventure.

Next morning there was a sitting of the Defense Ministry Collegium where we all said unanimously that this had to be finished and the troops withdrawn. Yazov agreed. The order was given, and the danger passed.

I want to say that the armed forces as a whole are no longer what they were five years ago—like the whole Soviet people. As of 1985 our life began to be democratized, forming a big river from small streams, as it were. Democratic life now forms a great flow. This group of people found themselves on a little island in this stream and thought about making a dam out of it. It didn't work, nor will it. Life is moving on. The people have changed. And the armed forces did not come under the thumb of extremists and conspirators. I promise that as long as I am defense minister the armed forces will never be used against the Soviet people.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Wasn't there the danger of an unscheduled use of nuclear weapons at this time?

[Shaposhnikov] No, there was no such danger.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] You've already received reports today from the district troop commanders. What state is the Army in today?

[Shaposhnikov] When I arrived in this office I first demanded that all district and fleet commanders report on the situation. All commanders reported on the situation—that the troops are engaged in their regular activity. The situation within the forces is currently stable and calm, and there are no grounds for alarm with respect to our armed forces.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Yevgeniy Ivanovich, could you say a few words for the Army rather than for the newspaper.

[Shaposhnikov] I signed a brief appeal to our commanders today and they are implementing it: It boils down to what we discussed in the morning over the telephone—that is, maintaining restraint and calm and engaging in planned activity and explanatory work to ensure that no one is despondent. The Soviet Army has done practically nothing wrong in the face of the Soviet people. It did not commit illegal acts, it did not allow tremendous bloodshed. I think that that is to the army's credit.

Clarifies Command 'Renewal' Comments

PM2608222791 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Aug 91 Single Edition p 1

["Snap Interview" with Marshal of Aviation Ye.I. Shaposhnikov, USSR minister of defense, by unidentified KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent; date and place not given: "A Question for the USSR Defense Minister"]

[Text] [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Comrade Marshal of Aviation, there was a report in some mass media that you are proposing a considerable renewal—up to 80 percent—of the USSR Armed Forces top command personnel. Is that really so?

[Shaposhnikov] There is, of course, an inaccuracy here. In an interview I said the following: The "team" [komanda] will be replaced. By "the team" I meant the country's Ministry of Defense Collegium. The USSR Ministry of Defense Collegium will be renewed by 80 percent.

Against Force To Maintain Union

AU2608170891 Vienna Oesterreich Eins Radio Network in German 1600 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Raimund Loew report on interview with new Soviet Defense Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov in Moscow on 26 August]

[Text] The new Soviet Defense Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov is a man of clear words. I have a positive attitude toward the independence efforts of the Baltic republics, of the Ukraine, and of Belorussia, he stated. In an interview with the Austrian ORF Radio and Television Network, he stressed that negotiations on the consequences of the new situation for the Soviet Army have started with Latvian President Gorbunov and the first man in the Ukraine, Kravchuk. If the parliaments of the republics decide that they want to secede from the Union, they must be allowed to do so. I am against forcibly holding back those who want to break away, the new defense minister, who essentially contributed to the failure of the coup as the head of the Air Force, pointed out.

Shaposhnikov claimed that the Baltic republics do not possess nuclear weapons. He also denied the existence of nuclear missiles in the crisis-stricken Caucasus. As far as the Ukraine or Belorussia are concerned, he was confident that an agreement will be achieved.

The defense minister confirmed that Mikhail Gorbachev lost control of the nuclear weapons arsenal during the days of the coup. However, the security system is tight enough to prevent access to the nuclear weapons for unauthorized persons. Yeltsin's Information Minister (Baltarane) was more precise on this issue. He claimed that the suitcase with the code for the intercontinental missiles was in the hands of the putschist Gennadiy Yanayev during the three days of the coup.

Yazov's Involvement in Coup Attempt Explored

PM2708100091 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 27 Aug 91 p 3

[By A. Krayniy: "How and Why Did Marshal Yazov End Up As a Plotter?" Item is part of a three-quarter page feature put together by Andrey Krayniy under the general headline "This Is No Business for Generals... But All the Same It Is a Good Thing That the People and the Army Are United"]

[Text] I spoke to Yazov at 1100 on the first day of the putsch. We had a brief conversation. When I asked him for an interview for the newspaper, I was refused: "I'm not in the mood for interviews, I'm totally opposed." This was the morning that Central Television announcers told all of us that by an overwhelming majority (it would be more correct to say "overwhelmed") the people regarded with understanding the emergency measures taken. Yazov was already aware that there was no understanding. Yet he still did not leave the State Committee for the State of Emergency, refuse to have anything to do with it, or withdraw the Army. Why?

How could they have persuaded him? Yazov owed Gorbachev his career: The CPSU Central Committee general secretary appointed Yazov, chief of the Defense Ministry Main Cadre Directorate, as defense minister after Marshal Sergey Sokolov was removed due to Matthias Rust's flight.

Their dachas near Moscow are next to each other. In the past Gorbachev canceled all deputies' questions when ratifying Yazov at a Union Supreme Soviet session. Certainly Yazov always demonstrated his loyalty to the supreme commander in chief. Was he play-acting, pretending? Not at all, he is a soldier not an actor. Then why?

Yazov's adjutant, Major S.:

The old man suffered terribly throughout those two days, 19 and 20 August, he looked awful. We, the members of his immediate entourage, saw everything. We saw "those people" try to persuade him to use weapons. But he said unequivocally: "I won't be a Pinochet." I am not vindicating him, but were it not for Yazov, there could have been 100 times more bloodshed. None of us can understand why he decided to do this. I think because he is simply a man of a different stamp from you or I. We have concepts that we hold sacred: the homeland, the mother, the family. But he held another concept sacred—the party, the CPSU Central Committee. It was probably these things that induced him. Although he did not previously have any respect for many of the plotters, describing them as drunkards.

Lieutenant General Valeriy Manilov, chief of the Defense Ministry Information Directorate:

Throughout this period I racked my brains. How could this have happened? There was no answer from the social viewpoint or any other. Although I would have thought that I knew the former minister quite well. What hold could they have had over him? The future of the Union perhaps? He was very worried that the country was disintegrating, he was unable to resign himself to this. When he fought in the Great Patriotic War, he was not defending nine republics, but 15.

Most likely he was brought to the point of saying "okay" on one occasion and then there was no way back. Yazov has a character trait that I call the "crocodile effect." A crocodile cannot move backward. Regrettably, the former minister is more of a soldier than a politician: The concept of a pledge is paramount for him, he could not disregard it. [Manilov ends]

He was not himself over the last two weeks. He came to work at 0530 hours—he could not sleep. He was unable to sit down, he would get up and walk round and round the office. I thought this was due to his wife's being ill, but it turned out...

I spoke to various people and they all expressed puzzlement. Academician Stanislav Shatalin, who sat next to Yazov and Kryuchkov at the Presidential Council, said: "As for Kryuchkov, everyone saw it coming for a long time, but how did the old man get involved in this clique?"

Most likely it was like this. Having played on Yazov's conservatism—a natural trait in such an elderly man—the plotters could rest easy—he had pledged his word and would not go back on it. This was a tragedy for the man and a tragedy for a whole generation. Reared on tales of the "assault on Spassk and the days at Volochayev," they were simply unable to turn their backs on something that they had revered their whole lives.

Dmitriy Yazov did not give the order for the Army to use weapons. But he was one of the eight major putschists and it was after he had given his consent that they brought themselves to what they had decided. Without him the putsch would have been impossible. According to our information, once under arrest in the Moscow area, he regretted what had happened, unlike Kryuchkov. Too late.

The paradox is that it was right-wing conservatives who did everything for the people's revolution to take place and win victory.

Military Orders During Coup Attempt Published

Yazov Mobilization Order

PM2708092891 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 27 Aug 91 p 3

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA account of Marshal Yazov telegram: "USSR Armed Forces General Staff". Item is part of a three-quarter page feature put together by Andrey Krayniy under the general headline "This Is No Business for Generals... But All the Same It Is a Good Thing That the People and the Army Are United"]

[Text] Copy No. 11. Secret

Copy of Outgoing Coded Telegram No. 8825

To USSR deputy defense ministers (all);

To commanders in chief of groups [voyska napravleniy] and Far East troops (all);

To commanders of airborne assault troops, groups of forces, military districts, and fleets (all);

To chiefs of USSR Defense Ministry main and central directorates:

In connection with the deteriorating domestic political situation in the country, I order that:

Large strategic formations, combined units, units, and establishments of all branches of the USSR Armed Forces on Soviet territory shall move to heightened combat alert status.

Leading personnel at districts, fleets, armies, flotillas, corps, squadrons, combined units, and establishments shall be recalled from furlough.

The guard around Strategic Rocket Forces positions, arsenals, bases and dumps for nuclear and conventional munitions, armaments, and combat hardware, depots, airfields, positions, military camps, headquarters, and important military and administrative installations shall be increased.

Temporary assignments, movements of motor vehicles, and flights by aircraft shall be restricted. **Particular attention shall be paid to the observance of regulations and military discipline.** Effective control of personnel shall be organized and desertion by servicemen prevented. All necessary measures shall be taken to find servicemen who have gone AWOL.

Leading personnel at large strategic formations, combined units, units, establishments, and military-political organs shall conduct constant explanatory work among Soviet Army and Navy servicemen and employees and the local population about the need to consolidate all of society's healthy forces in order to preserve the Union.

All measures shall be taken to bring in the harvest, procure all kinds of material and technical means, and ensure comprehensive preparations for winter.

Leading personnel shall mount around-the-clock duty watches at headquarters of combined units and above. The situation shall be constantly monitored in the relevant areas of responsibility and urgent measures taken to impose the proper order. Cooperation shall be organized with healthy forces at local organs of power, and with USSR KGB and USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] organs.

All instances of any change in public order or illegal actions shall be immediately reported along the chain of command to headquarters and operational duty officers.

In Moscow and Leningrad commanders of the military districts will be appointed garrison commandants, at other garrisons the commandants will be the garrison chiefs.

[Signed] D. Yazov

Order to Remove Troops

PM2708103091 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 27 Aug 91 p 3

[Decision of USSR Defense Ministry Collegium of 21 August 1991, signed by Moiseyev and Kochetkov, plus KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA comment: "At the

USSR Defense Ministry Collegium." Item is part of a three-quarter page feature put together by Andrey Krayniy under the general headline "This Is No Business for Generals... But All the Same It Is a Good Thing That the People and the Army Are United"]

[Text] At 0800 on 21 August 1991 the USSR Defense Ministry Collegium reviewed the situation that had developed as a result of the implementation of measures under the state of emergency introduced 19 August this year in certain areas of the USSR by decision of the USSR State Committee for the State of Emergency.

Certain Soviet Army subunits and units have been called upon to implement the measures provided by the USSR Constitution and the USSR Law "On the Legal Regime of a State of Emergency." They have been given tasks of ensuring the stability of the situation, preventing possible provocations by extremist forces, and protecting the most important state institutions and communications.

The servicemen in these subunits and units are fulfilling their constitutional duty with dignity and honor and are conscientiously accomplishing the tasks given them. They, like all army and navy personnel, clearly realize that their participation in the implementation of the state of emergency measures is aimed at putting into effect the Soviet people's will, expressed in the results of the nationwide referendum on preserving and strengthening a united multinational homeland for all the country's peoples—the USSR.

The time that has passed since the state of emergency was introduced has shown that personnel have in the main fulfilled the tasks given them by the country's leadership.

In view of this the USSR Defense Ministry Collegium deems it expedient to effect a systematic withdrawal of military subunits and units from the places where they were located to stabilize the situation to their places of permanent deployment.

The USSR Defense Ministry Collegium declares that the Soviet Armed Forces were, are, and will be a part of the people and a loyal defender of their fundamental vital interests. They firmly support the policy of perestroyka, the renewal of Soviet society, and the preservation and strengthening of international peace and universal security, and are always ready to ensure the sufficient and reliable defense of our country.

[Signed] Moiseyev, 21 August 1991

Kochetkov, 21 August 1991

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA comment] Look at the copies of these documents. One is an order by former USSR Defense Minister D.T. Yazov [see previous item PM2708092891] sent to the troops early in the morning of 19 August. The second is a decision made by the Defense Ministry Collegium at 0900 on 21 August. Less than 72 hours. A whole era...

Moiseyev Defends Actions During Coup Attempt

PM2708093591 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 27 Aug 91 p 3

[Unattributed report on interview in Moscow with General M. Moiseyev; date of interview not specified: "Mikhail Moiseyev: 'I Managed To Return KGB's Vitebsk Division to Bosom of Soviet Army.'" Item is part of a three-quarter page feature put together by Andrey Krayniy under the general headline "This Is No Business for Generals... But All the Same It Is a Good Thing That the People and the Army Are United." The interview is accompanied by a photograph captioned: "This picture was taken Friday. It is not yet known what will happen to Mikhail Moiseyev."]

[Text] This time I met with General Moiseyev by chance, in the corridors of the Ministry of Defense. He had spent half a day clearing his (former) office, packing books and gifts into a suitcase, and toward evening he called on the minister of defense to receive instructions.

Moiseyev was intending to spend the weekend at a dacha. The first weekend fully at his disposal and, probably, the last he would spend at a state dacha. We spoke of many things. Mikhail Alekseyevich still believed, even after his removal, that he had not committed any unlawful actions. According to him, he had spent all the days of the putsch engaged in freeing the buildings in Lithuania seized by the Soviet Army in the winter, and people had called from Lithuania to thank him.

"During those days and nights," Moiseyev said, "Popov, Rutskoy, and Lubenchenko all called me. The second night was particularly anxious, and I reassured them and said that there would be no storming: Don't fuel hysteria. You know, I proposed to Kobets—We pull out the troops, you dismantle the barricades. There was not yet a decision by the ministry collegium, but Kalinin (former commander of Moscow Military district) and Zolotov (chief of staff of Moscow Military district) had already received orders to remove the hardware from the squares. And the tragic deaths of three young Muscovites happened when a column of vehicles was blocked when it was proceeding to a concentration point so as to leave the city. If it had not been blocked, there would not have been any bloodshed at all."

Moiseyev spent less than 24 hours as acting minister. During this time he managed to decide one very important question with the president: The KGB's Vitebsk Division (formerly of the Airborne Troops), the KGB's Nakhichevan division (formerly of the Ground Forces), and one other are to return to the Soviet Army. Kryuchkov had "chopped off" these divisions at a session of the Defense Council following the events on the Iranian-Soviet border. Gen. Moiseyev said: It is clear to me now why Kryuchkov was raking up troops around himself. He needed a steel fist.

Moiseyev Denies Reports of Student Draft

PM2508153791 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 24 Aug 91 p 3

[By D. Molchanov: "Whence the Generals' Kindness"]

[Text] How acutely discerning we are! KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, I mean. Having heard the 20 August Central Television report that rumors about a fresh draft of students into the Army are lies and the USSR Law "On Universal Military Duty" currently in force is being strictly adhered to, we paused and pondered. A terrible suspicion gnawed away: Why is it that this statement by the Ministry of Defense appeared right at the time when hundreds of students were marching to defend Russia's "White House" and "some comrades" would rather have seen them somewhere else? Were the students being bribed?

It took the Ministry of Defense the whole of 23 August to give an answer to the question: Who ordered the Press Center to release the news to the mass media? And the secret name came to light only after 1700 hours, when M.S. Gorbachev had already announced his cadre reshuffle at the Russian Parliament's session. It appeared that Army General M. Moiseyev was the Soviet students' benefactor.

He is no longer chief of General Staff, but we will hold the Ministry of Defense to its word.

Navy Disobeyed Order To Jam Broadcasts

LD2608050391 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Excerpt] On 19 August, troops came under the command of the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency]. Sailors are the topic of today's report. That day, the Navy headquarters in Moscow received the order to jam democratic radio broadcasts. The order was not obeyed. Aboard ships, propaganda pieces of the SCSE were played. But here, too, the putsch organizers met with opposition.

[Unidentified correspondent] Having received from headquarters the decree by the Russian president and of General Kobets, minister of defense of the RSFSR, (Zaretskiy) essentially ended the broadcast of disinformation received from the fleet's political directorate and began to broadcast to ships and submarines information received in the White House. [passage omitted]

European Countries Recognize Baltic Independence

OW2608224791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2052 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The foreign ministers of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania have arrived in the Icelandic capital for the signing of documents on the restoration of diplomatic relations. Similar documents will later be signed in Norway. The three foreign ministers are also visiting Bonn and Copenhagen.

Iceland, Norway, Denmark, Hungary and Argentina have said they are ready to restore diplomatic relations with the Baltic republics, which have declared their full independence from the USSR.

Papers on Ties With Iceland Signed

LD2608224191 Moscow TASS in English 1819 GMT 26 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Sidorov]

[Text] Copenhagen August 26 TASS—The foreign ministers of Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and Iceland signed papers on the establishment of diplomatic relations in a ceremony in Reykjavik today.

The signatories said in a joint statement that the ambassador of Iceland to Sweden Sigridur Snevar will also be Iceland's ambassador to Estonia and Latvia, and the ambassador of Iceland to Denmark Ingvi Ingvarsson will represent the country in Lithuania.

The ambassadors of Estonia and Lithuania will be based in Copenhagen.

According to the Danish news agency RITSAUS bureau, the Government of Latvia has not yet appointed its ambassador to Iceland.

After the ceremony of signing the documents, Lithuania's Foreign Minister Algirdas Saudargas said, "we are now witnessing the advent of a new period in the history of world democracy."

Estonia's Lennard Meri pointed to special relationships between Iceland and the Baltic republics.

"This process," the minister said, "was started by the peoples of the Baltics, but Iceland was the first country which extended us a hand in the struggle for our independence."

UK's Hurd on Recognition

LD2608191591 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1730 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Text] The foreign secretary of Great Britain, Douglas Hurd, stated today that in his opinion Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia are rapidly approaching the achievement of full independence. He went on to state that the sooner this happens the better. In an interview with the BBC, the leader of the department of foreign affairs also announced that the secretary of state for foreign affairs of Great Britain, Douglas Hogg, will soon visit three Baltic republics, where he will have talks with the leaders of these countries. Discussion is anticipated on the possible restoration of diplomatic relations between Great Britain and Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia.

Austria To Recognize States

LD2608192191 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1730 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Text] The present process in the Soviet Union creates the conditions for Austria, too, to recognize the Baltic republics as independent states. This was stated in an announcement disseminated in Vienna today by Chancellor of the Republic of Austria, Franz Vranitzky. Austria, he said, will have close contacts with other European countries. As reported by the Austrian news agency, from an interview with Foreign Minister Alois Mock, after Vranitzky's talks with vice chancellor [word indistinct], agreement was reached in principle on the political recognition of the Baltic republics. This position, Alois Mock stated, corresponds to Austria's position on the (?people's democratic resolution).

Bonn Information Bureau To Open

OW2308170891 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1426 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Quoting the press service of Estonia's Foreign Ministry, BF's [BALTFAX's] correspondent reports that an information bureau of the three Baltic republics will officially open in Bonn, Germany, in October. An agreement on the leasing of premises for the future bureau was signed in Bonn on August 21. Lithuania will be represented by parliamentarian Antanas Racas, Latvia by the emigrant Andreis Urdze, and Estonia by parliamentarian Tiit Matsulevits.

Danish, Other Envoys To Visit

OW2608113091 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1100 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A telegram sent by the chairman of the Danish parliament Mr. Clausen to the leaders of the Baltics says the government of Denmark has appointed Mr. Ole Borch, 69, an ambassador to the Baltic states authorized to establish diplomatic relations broken off in 1940. Mr. Borch was the Danish Ambassador to U.S. and representative in the U.N.

Danish Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen said that his country had recognized the independent Baltic republics, but establishment of diplomatic relations has become possible only now.

Meanwhile, the foreign ministers of the Baltics are to arrive in Reykjavik August 26 to estabish diplomatic relations with Iceland.

After that the foreign ministers will go to Oslo with the same mission and on Wednesday to Bonn where they will meet with German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

By today's morning Iceland, Denmark, Norway, Hungary and Argentina have expressed readiness to establish diplomatic relations with the Baltics.

Sweden is expected to do the same on August 28.

Belgium, Germany and France said they are prepared in principle to establish diplomatic relations with the Baltics.

Great Britain decided to send to the Baltics Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd to look at the situation there.

Canadian Foreign Ministry Announces Recognition

LD2608223291 Moscow TASS in English 1707 GMT 26 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Valentin Vasilets]

[Text] Ottawa August 26 TASS—A spokesman for the Canadian Foreign Ministry announced that Canada formally recognised the independence of all three Baltic republics.

Australia To Establish Diplomatic Ties

LD2708123691 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 0900 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] Australian Prime Minister Robert Hawke announced today that his nation will immediately establish full diplomatic relations with Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. He told journalists in Canberra that the Australian Government believes that each of the Baltic states controls its own territory. Hawke said the Australian ambassador in Copenhagen will fulfil the duties of the Australian ambassador to Latvia and Lithuania, and the Australian ambassador in Stockholm will fulfil the duties of the Australian ambassador to Estonia. The Australian Government will immediately discuss practical steps in relations with the governments of the Baltic states.

New Baltic Military Region Commander Named

OW2608203791 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1930 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The new commander of the Baltic military region was named on Monday. He is Lieutenant General Valeriy Mironov, who until his new appointment was deputy commander of the Leningrad military region.

The former commander of the Baltic military region, General Fyodor Kuzmin, was removed from his post following a meeting in Moscow between the leader of the Latvian Parliament, Anatoliy Gorbunov, and the new leaders of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the KGB and the Defence Ministry on August 25th.

Estonia

Savisaar To Attend USSR Supreme Soviet

OW2608203991 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1930 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Estonian Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar announced in Tallinn on August 26th that he is to leave for Moscow in a few days to take part in the work of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

"BALTFAX" has been informed by reliable sources that a meeting between Mr. Savisaar and the president of the USSR KGB, Vadim Bakatin, is being planned. The suspension of KGB activity in the republic and agreement on the transfer of Estonian border guard duties to the republic's own officials are among questions to be discussed.

Prime Minister Chairs Government Session

Talks Continue on Stability

LD2608105491 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 0600 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Report by Juhan Hindov, Estonian Government press spokesman]

[Text] On the evening of 25 August, another session of the Republic of Estonia's government took place on Toompea, chaired by Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar. The government discussed fulfillment of its previous resolutions and drew conclusions, as well as planned a string of new tasks to stabilize the Republic of Estonia's situation. The government resolved to charge the border guard department and the police department with the task of taking under its full control—starting from 2300 hours on the evening of 25 August—the economic border in the Narva area. Inter-Movement activity was banned on the Republic of Estonia's territory. In connection with its participation in the criminal coup attempt, United Council of Work Collectives activity was ended. Workers' squads in Kohtla-Jarve and Narva were disbanded with a government resolution. The activity of the unlawful formation under the leadership of Mikhail Lysenko was banned on the Republic of Estonia's territory. The Internal Affairs Ministry was charged with the task of taking measures to implement these resolutions. The government proposed that the Republic of Estonia procurator's office start immediate criminal proceedings against the Inter-Movement, the United Council of Work Collectives, and the workers' squad.

Another government session will take place tomorrow and will discuss the activity of town councils and town governments of Narva, Kohtla-Jarve, and Sillamae and its lawfulness in northeast Estonia. Tiit Vahi, the government's special representative, will deliver a report on his activity in the area.

Resolution on Northeast Representative

LD2608160891 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1400 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Excerpt] A session of the Republic of Estonia Government was held today and was chaired by Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar. [passage omitted]

The work of the government's special representative in northeast Estonia was discussed. The government adopted a resolution about the special representative's rights. In the case of some of the rights, the government will have to approach the Supreme Council. What is being sought is that the special representative should have the right to repeal orders of district elders and mayors and the right to dismiss or appoint mayors, deputy mayors, or town council members as well as to disband public organizations. These motions will be presented to the Supreme Council tomorrow.

Because the town councils of Kohtla-Jarve, Narva, and Sillamae have not taken into account laws of the Republic of Estonia for the past two years, the government will propose to the Supreme Council that the activity of the three town councils be suspended and new elections be declared. Until the elections take place the mayors will be given the right to decide matters which otherwise fall within the competence of local government bodies.

The government also discussed the issue of extending customs activity to the western border. Preparatory work is already in progress in this respect, and within the next few days it is planned also to implement the corresponding resolution.

Minister Vare on Preventing Future Coups

LD2608115991 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 0900 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Report by Estonian Minister of State Raivo Vare on the Estonian Supreme Council session in Tallinn—live]

[Text] Esteemed radio listeners! In connections with the botched coup attempt, the government, according to a Supreme Council resolution, has started to carry out a whole string of measures which should not only liquidate any possibilites for a repeated coup attempt but also prevent the structures which were connected with it in one way or another from hindering our independence endeavors. In this regard, a special government commission has been set up, headed by the minister of state, and law and order bodies have already started very intense work on the basis of the materials which have already been processed. According to the work they have done, all measures will be taken to abolish the structures in the interests of our independence.

In this regard, however, I have an urgent request in respect of any kind of unapproved undertakings and attempts to rehabilitate themselves on behalf of, well, say, the forces which have also been standing for independence. Such spontaneous actions to increase their political stature would be very wicked at the moment; they would completely needlessly create tension in the situation, would confuse the work of government organizations, and would not bring any benefit to anybody.

For this reason, I am appealing to all of you, radio listeners, with a request to assist the work of government bodies in every way in respect of the putsch and the putschists and not to start any unapproved events regarding those organizations. When we talk about organizations of this kind wanting to gain political capital or of an attempt at gaining such capital, then, first and foremost, I have Kaitseliit in mind.

Coup Supporters Arrested for 'Illegal Activities'

OW2608202991 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1930 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Last night the Estonian police detained two leaders of the so-called "workers' detachments"—Mikhail Lisenko in Tallinn and Belov (first name has not been reported) in Kohtla-Jarve. Estonian Interior Minister Olev Laaniarv told BF [BALTFAX] that they are charged with illegal activities during the coup attempt in Estonia. Mikhail Lisenko is also accused of organizing the storming of the Estonian government and parliament building on May 15, 1990.

Meanwhile, the police have sealed up the headquarters of the Estonian "Intermovement" and "workers' detachments." A meeting of the "Intermovement" scheduled for today was canceled.

At a news briefing in the Estonian Government building today it was reported that the central ministries had approved the decision of local authorities to dismiss 4 directors of center-run enterprises.

Government To Disband Group

LD2608210391 Moscow TASS in English 1319 GMT 26 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Albert Maloveryan]

[Text] Tallinn August 26 TASS—The Estonian Government has decided to disband the united council of work collectives of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic

[SSR] and the Estonian SSR's Interdvizheniye Movement, which supported the coup attempt in the Soviet Union. The decision was published here today.

The government also decided to disband "workers' units" controlled by the movement. The republic's prosecutor's office was instructed to continue investigating the organisations' activities.

The united council of work collectives and Interdvizheniye are mainly supported in northeastern Estonia and Tallinn's districts, where large enterprises subordinated to the union, are located.

Communist Party Members Withdraw From CPSU

OW2608115891 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1100 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On August 26 the Estonian police have sealed up the buildings belonging to the Estonian Communist Party [ECP]/CPSU.

The Bureau of the independent Estonian Communist Party took a decision on Saturday to withdraw its members from the ruling bodies of the CPSU. Thus, First Secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Enn-Arno Sillari resigned from the CPSU CC [Central Committee] Poitbureau. The ECP Bureau has also urged rank-and-file members of the Estonian Communist Party who at the same time are members of the CPSU to abandon it.

The CPE [Communist Party of Estonia] stated that it considers itself the owner of all property of the CPSU on Estonian territory.

At the same time, it decided to transfer the CPE CC building and its motor depot to the Estonian government. It was also announced that the CPE's archieves are part of the Estonian Common Archives.

Independent Communist Party Property Nationalized

LD2708105991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1648 GMT 26 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Albert Maloveryan]

[Text] Tallinn, 26 Aug (TASS)—Members of the Independent Communist Party of Estonia elected to the leading bodies of the CPSU no longer consider themselves part of that organization, says a statement by the Central Committee of the Independent Communist Party of Estonia.

On its own initiative, the Independent Communist Party of Estonia has decided to hand Estonian Communist Party property, including its building and vehicles, over to the republic's Supreme Soviet.

The issue of the property of the Communist Party has long been disputed, since Estonia had two parallel parties, the Independent Communist Party and the Communist Party that supported the position of the CPSU. The activity of the latter was stopped by a decision of the government of the republic, since it was an unregistered organization with its supreme body outside the republic.

The Independent Estonian Communist Party now considers itself to be the sole rightful heir to party property. The report passed to the media says nothing about the future of the publishing house of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee.

KGB Chief on Burned Documents, Future

LD2608224391 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1200 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Excerpts] [Announcer Tiina Kaalep] This morning, telephones were ringing in the Tartu radio studio, with people phoning in from around the KGB building. They reported that chimneys were smoking in your building. The people who phoned in thought that you were burning some papers.

[Tartu KGB chief] (Anti Talur), how are things, in fact?

[(Talur)] Some papers definitely were probably burned; well, that is, not probably, but definitely. The most worrying thing is over the files which may disappear and go missing somewhere. There is no need to worry about those. During my time of work in Tartu—and that has been the last 19 years—the files have not been on location; the files, the files of those times, are all in archives, that is, in Tallinn or, as it is now known, a section of them also in Ulyanovsk. Well, evidently the issue is mainly that it is highly likely that the KGB would now start making all their helpers known in the press, and I think that this was perhaps also connected with this. [passage omitted]

[Kaalep] Have you yourself thought of your future? Where will you work?

[(Talur)] Well, I do not know yet. There have been several offers and opinions. Evidently the question has to be decided in the near future. Should there be proposals coming, well, for exmaple, for police work or something similar then I will have to think about it. And I have been reading in the press it is being suggested that specialists should be put to a good use because the future republic will evidently also need specialists of this kind. Should they be needed, then in principle that is possible, but if that is not wanted, then naturally, I am also ready to do any other kind of work. Should it be necessary to redeem my old sins, so to speak, then I do not know where the place for deportating these men is.

[Kaalep] I will return to my initial question. It was to do with the smoke from your chimneys and papers in your stoves. You deny that you have been burning essential documentation today, is that so?

[(Talur)] I can claim with certainty that no essential documentation which is necessary to the republic has been burned. But as far as helpers of the security department are concerned, then these documents—our chairman Rein Sillar has already explained those documents will not be produced.

[Kaalep] Coming here into the KGB building we found (Kero Kartau), the town's police chief here. May we know what you two have been talking about here now?

[(Kartau)] Representatives of the town government and representatives of several public organizations came to see us and demanded that we take over the security committee. I came here first and foremost so as to see what the situation is like. We will place the building under police guard in order to ensure that the property is preserved, that arms are preserved first and foremost. [passage omitted]

Estonian Flag Flies Over Narva Town Council

LD2608121791 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 0900 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] An extraordinary session of Narva town council began at 1100. Previously, the so-called Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic flag was lowered from the tower of the town government building, and the blue-black-and-white Estonian state flag was hoisted. Town Council Chairman Vladimir Chuykin adopted a resolution to this effect before any official resolution of the council. (Efendiyev), director of Narva museum, requested that the red flag be kept in the museum fund. We also had a telephone call from Kohtla-Jarve, and we were told that a blue-black-and-white state flag is now flying on the town government building there, too.

Latvia

Yeltsin's Decree Recognizing Independence Lauded

PM2608131791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Aug 91 Union Edition p 4

[Report by correspondent I. Litvinova under the general heading "Wave of Change Rising"]

[Text] Riga—At 1825 on 24 August, Latvian Supreme Soviet deputies applauded RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] President B. Yeltsin's decree recognizing Latvian state independence.

A Supreme Soviet resolution liquidated the Latvian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] KGB. Its activity has been deemed criminal and against the interests of the Latvian people. The property of the KGB has been transferred to the ownership of the Latvian republic.

The Latvian Supreme Soviet has decided to suspend the activity of the Latvian Communist Party, the International Front of Latvian Working People, the United Council of Labor Collectives, the Komsomol [Lenin Communist Youth League], and the Council of War and Labor Veterans in the belief that these public organizations supported the organizers of the coup d'etat. Monuments to Lenin have been demolished in Riga and other cities in the republic.

Supreme Council Establishes Parliament Guard

LD2608220691 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1500 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] The supreme council of the Republic of Latvia established a parliamentary guard service today. Its task is to protect people's deputies and the council building. [Word indistinct] it has to fulfill only the instructions of the chairman of the Supreme Council. The Ministry of Internal Affairs has been charged to supply this formation with the necessary arms. The unit, formed on the basis of the first police battalion and part of the system of departments of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, will have to be supplied by the Council of Ministers with the premises, vehicles and other means necessary for its stable work.

People's Front Responds to Armed Guard Appeal

LD2408135791 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1004 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Text] [Oskars Jura] Good day, respected listeners. All morning our radio news editorial office has been resounding with telephone calls. Upset residents are demanding urgent explanations of the appeal heard last night, at 2315, on the Sodruzhestvo [Concord] radio station, to form armed guards at work collectives for the suppression of democracy.

This morning in the studio we have members of the People's Front of Latvia Board, Ivars Redisons and Roberts Milbergs. Please go ahead.

[Redisons] This appeal that was heard is, in essence, only to be interpreted as an incitement to civil war. We must understand that history is being repeated. This time in Latvia the situation is the same as it was in 1919 when at that time the huge army of von der Goltz was here, and sheltering behind him the Bermont troops were being formed. Now what we have here is the huge army of Kuzmin, which has basically announced its neutrality, but sheltering behind it are today's Bermont troops. So it is essential, regardless of the fact that today outside it is sunny and warm, the boards of the branches of the People's Front have been summoned and are discussing a plan as to how to act in the future. The formation of territorial Land Defense units [zemessardze] must be quickly begun at rural district [pagasts] and town boards. The moment has arrived when freedom must be not demanded, but taken. We must take it with our own hands.

[Jura] There are many and various demands for an explanation of the resolution of the Council of Ministers on the (?directors) of industrial plants. I ask Roberts Milbergs to make a statement about this

[Milbergs] So, in connection with resolution No. 211 of the Council of Ministers, this work must be done immediately, but extremely [word indistinct]. How is it to be done? The People's Front of Latvia has actively involved in this work all levels of People's Front structures, who must consider the information received at their Dome sitting, the lists presented to them, and they must accept and pass on these documents to the Council of Ministers as well as to the People's Front of Latvia. In this way, a control will be achieved, so as not to allow a witchhunt, so that the government resolution will be fulfilled (?properly) and the situation in society is normalized.

In the development of the political situation in the last two years it has been completely clear to us who is who at our workplaces. The political confrontation reached its climax on the morning of 20 August when, returning to work and finding out about the military coup, various ranks of militarists, communists, and other Red fascists united, took each others' hands, embraced and firmly resolved: Now it is shown who is who and how it will be, and openly declared their support for the military coup. Information about these people must be collected, there must be discussions at the People's Front groups and sections, and it must be handed in immediately to the Council of Ministers and the People's Front. In a situation where the director of an enterprise is loyal to the republic but the leaders of structural sections and other officials at the enterprises supported the putschists, the list with the demands must be presented to the director of the enterprise. If the leader of the enterprise does not immediately fulfill the demand in the government resolution for the unmasking of these officials, then information about these directors must be given to the Council of Ministers and the People's Front.

We remind you once again that this work must be done quickly, in a balanced way, objectively, curtail immediately the activity of officials hostile to our state, who could cause huge material, moral and economic losses, which might very much complicate our path to freedom.

So, People's Front members, get to work! Today and on Sunday! Never mind the nice weather and the holiday!

[Redisons] Once again I ask the sections of the People's Front, leaders of sections, to restore manning of the People's Front coordination centers today, tomorrow, and throughout the whole working week, from early in the morning till late in the evening, and announce to the residents of their city, districts, and rayon the location and telephone number of these centers. We must restore without delay those structures that were disbanded in January, so that in the event of these Red brigades beginning active operations, we can immediately involve these forces and also appeal to Riga.

Citizens ought to maintain self-control and recall that the People's Front must help the government to ensure control of the situation in the republic. This is is why we ought not to be taking any unorganized initiatives and (?everyone, in all measure) must go [word indistinct] People's Front, so that local administrations too will coordinate with the Republic Defense Council.

I also call on those involved in the actual work of explaining among soldiers that they make sure the soldiers understand what is happening in Latvia, because at the moment, unfortunately, there is still a great hunger for information.

I remind you that the Council of Baltic People's movements on 3 August adopted an appeal to the United Nations to send peace-keeping troops to the Baltics. Therefore we have presented this announcement to the Supreme Council, and we very much hope that our deputies who hear it will adopt a Supreme Council resolution to that effect.

Yesterday, 23 August, at a meeting in Vidzeme suburb [in Riga] the 15,000 participants demanded that the USSR Government immediately start withdrawing its armed forces without reservation from Latvia, that the Supreme Council work out and adopt a law on the defense of the state and begin forming the national army of the Republic of Latvia.

We also believe it is necessary to report this information: following the attack by the OMON [Special Purpose militia Detachment] on the volunteer units' headquarters, service certificates fell into their hands, hand [word indistinct] and other insignia of the volunteer units, which might be used in carrying out provocations in Latvia. The People's Front believes that the officers at the headquarters of the volunteer units must immediately, without [word indistinct], take the necessary measures to avert the malicious use of insignia stolen from the headquarters of the volunteer units.

[Milbergs] So that we can act against such incidents, there is an appeal to residents to provide all information known about the movements of armed [word indistinct] or any other (?wings of them). We must preserve the people's property which was received yesterday from the Communist Party; no demolition of them must be allowed here, or withdrawal of property. Finally, to conclude this speech, I again call on the people to maintain calm, self-control, and organization, but to act as necessary.

[Jura] We began by mentioning the Sodruzhestvo station. Today very many residents, our listeners, made a categorical demand. If we can isolate Rubiks, can we not isolate this broadcasting station? What is the attitude of the People's Front of Latvia Board toward this matter?

[Redisons] This station mnust be immediately closed, but unfortunately it is located at a military unit, under armed guard, and at the moment the People's Front and also the government are not really able to (?get at) this transmitter. So, obviously we must consider the possibility of shutting off energy and other communications to those military subunits that took part in the attempted coup and also continue to support the putschists by their neutrality.

'Ravnopraviye' Faction in Supreme Council Splits

OW2608172791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1630 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At a plenary session of the Latvian Supreme Council on August 26 several members of the opposition "Ravnopraviye" ("Equal Rights") faction announced their intention of leaving it.

Their statement says: "Since some of the "Ravnopraviye" members actively supported the coup but the faction has not announced its dissolution, we abandon it".

On August 25 the Latvian Supreme Council formed a group of deputies, the "Democratic Initiative Center", which includes 9 "Ravnopraviye" members. They recognize Latvia's independence and favor the creation of a centrist bloc in the Latvian parliament.

Agreement Reached To Keep OMON in Barracks

LD2708063591 Riga Radio Riga International in English 2030 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] According to government sources, an agreement has been reached between the Latvian Government and the new Soviet Baltic Military District commanders that the Army should see to it that the Soviet Interior Ministry special (?raid) force OMON would stay in their barracks for the next days. [passage omitted]

Resolution Dismisses Industry Minister

LD2608171291 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1730 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Excerpt] This evening the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia listened to the report made by council chairman Anatolijs Gorbunovs on the results of the visit of the republic's delegation to Moscow. Today the supreme council adopted a resolution relieving Minister of Industry Janis Oherins of his post. The reason given: He acted destructively in this post and hampered the fulfillment of the laws of the Republic of Latvia. [passage omitted]

New Minister Appointed

LD2608220891 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1500 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] Appointed as acting minister of industry for the Republic of Latvia is the deputy minister of industry, Aivars Millers.

Lithuania

France Reportedly Resuming Diplomatic Relations

LD2608121191 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Report by Vityas Usas]

[Text] Audrius Azubalis, the Supreme Council press representative, has reported that information has been received in a telephone call from the French Foreign Ministry, East European section, that an authorized Foreign Ministry representative for Lithuania, (Philippe de Firmon) is to arrive in Vilnius this evening. He will have authorization to represent French interests in Lithuania.

This signifies that France is resuming diplomatic relations with Lithuania.

Foreign Ministry Plan for Diplomatic Ties Sought

LD2608114991 Moscow TASS in English 1056 GMT 26 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Kazis Uscila]

[Text] Vilnius August 26 TASS—The Lithuanian Government instructed the Republic's Foreign Ministry to submit to the Cabinet of Ministers, by August 29, proposals on consultations about the establishment of diplomatic and consular relations with Austria, Denmark, Latvia, Norway, the Russian Federation, Poland, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Sweden, Estonia and other states.

Special missions will be formed to conduct these consultations. Their composition will be endorsed by the government. The Republic's Foreign Ministry was also instructed to begin consultations with Belorussia about relations with this neighbouring republic.

In the resolution adopted on this matter, the government explains this decision by stating the Lithuanian Government exercises full power on Lithuanian territory, and that favourable conditions have developed for the establishment and widening of Lithuania's relations with foreign countries.

Landsbergis Addresses Parliamentary Session

Notes Border Cooperation

LD2608165791 Moscow TASS in English 1746 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] Vilnius August 26 TASS—"Lithuania takes over the last state functions it is entitled to," Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis told a plenary session of the republican parliament here today.

The Lithuanian leader told deputies that Lithuanian officials began work at the border crossing from Poland to Lithuania, the sea port of Klaipeda and Vilnius airport. They issue entry visas and perform customs inspection.

Landsbergis noted with satisfaction that "cooperation both with Soviet border guards and relevant Polish services is proceeding smoothly".

Landsbergis also said "the fate of the OMON (special operations) force of the USSR Interior Ministry is being gradually decided". He told the parliament that coordination and preparatory work to withdraw Interior Ministry troops from Lithuanian territory is under way.

Entry Visas Issued

LD2608215891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1405 GMT 26 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Kazis Ustsila]

[Text] Vilnius, 26 August. (TASS)—"Lithuania is taking upon itself the state functions that befits it," stated Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic at a plenary meeting of the session of parliament today.

The head of the parliament informed deputies that as of today officials of the Lithuanian Republic have started work on the frontier crossing on the Lithuanian-Polish border at Lazdijai, at Klaipeda maritime port, and at Vilnius airport. They are issuing entry visas for those coming into the republic and carrying out customs checks. It was with satisfaction that he noted that "cooperation both with Soviet frontier guards and the relevant services in Poland is proceeding in an orderly fashion."

Vytautas Landsbergis also said that "the question of the fate of USSR Ministry of International Affairs OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] is being resolved gradually and reports on the start of coordinating and preparatory work for the withdrawal of internal troops from the territory of Lithuania.

Agreement on End to Service in Soviet Army

OW2608172091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1630 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Speaking on TV in the evening of August 25, the Lithuanian leader Vytautas Landsbergis said that he and the newly appointed USSR Chief of Staff Vladimir Lobov had agreed to call Lithuanian young men serving in the Soviet Army back to Lithuania.

Deputy Prime Minister of Lithuania Zigmas Vaisvila read out on TV an appeal of the Lithuanian government to Lithuania's young men serving in the Army not to desert from their units before the USSR Defense Minister issues an order.

Lithuanians Urged to Await Order

LD2608211391 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] The government of the Republic of Lithuania is doing everything possible in order that Lithuanian young men can discontinue service in the Soviet Army as soon as possible and return home. The government expects to adopt a decision regarding this question with the corresponding Soviet Union institutions, shortly.

The government of the Republic of Lithuania appeals to all Lithuanian young men serving in the Soviet Army units stationed inside as well as outside Lithuania's territory not to withdraw from service until an appropriate order is issued by the USSR defense minister.

Lithuanian CPSU Secretary Kuolelis Arrested

LD2708082691 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 0100 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] Juozas Kuolelis, secretary of the Lithuanian CPSU Central Committee, was arrested yesterday. He is accused of participation in the preparation and implementation of the state coup in Lithuania on 13 January.

The Lithuanian General Procuracy has issued orders to detain other leaders of the republican branch of the Communist Party accused of antistate activity. Information reveals that the organizers and executors of the coup in Lithuania are hiding on territory belonging to the Vilnius Military Garrison. Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis has warned the leadership of the garrison about their responsibility for hiding of state criminals.

Government Removes Coup Supporters

LD2608212791 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1800 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] It was emphasized, at the government meeting today that the organization and coordination of former union jurisdiction enterprises and organizations within Lithuanian territory, the insuring of the protection of property, and prevention of illegal acts against the State of Lithuania, is of the utmost importance. [Words indistinct] taking into account that the chiefs of [word indistinct] certain organizations, have ignored the Lithuanian Republic's laws and supported the coup undertaken within the Soviet Union, the following have been relieved from their duties, by order of the government of Lithuania: general director of the Klaipeda shipyard, (Georgiy Krukas), director of the Klaipeda fourth ship repair enterprise, (Davidas Greenhouzas); and director of the Ignalina nuclear electric power station, (Anatoliy Kropchikas).

The question of the appointment of the chiefs of these enterprises and other questions of regulating their activity have been assigned for resolution by the appropriate Lithuanian ministries.

Government Arms Border Protection Service

LD2708101191 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0100 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] The government has decided to equip with firearms officials of the border protection service of the country's defense department. This decision is contained in a document which instructs the country's defense department to ensure from today the protection of the Lithuanian state border with Poland. To date it has been controlled by the Soviet KGB army. Temporarily, until the country's defense department completely takes over the protection of the border, it will be guarded together with Soviet soldiers.

Reports Continue on Status, Disarming of OMON

Gediminas Cables USSR Minister

LD2608210891 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] The prime minister of the Republic of Lithuania, Gediminas Vagnorius, has sent a telegram to the Soviet Union Minister of Internal Affairs, in which he states: The government of the Republic of Lithuania appeals to you, esteemed minister, with anxiety and concern, asking you urgently to exert your influence on the leadership of the Vilnius military garrison, in order to regulate, as soon as possible, the question of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment].

Currently, the OMON are stationed within the Vilnius Garrison territory, where there are other military units present, which carry out independent and uncontrolled actions. The OMON have at their disposal armored vehicles, transport vehicles, machine guns, explosives, and many firearms. The excitement of passions and the conscious procrastination by General Demidov renders the dangerous situation even more dangerous.

In order to avoid bloodshed and senseless actions, we ask you to issue a directive, or by other means, disarm the OMON and relieve the OMON, as an uncontrollable force for unconstitutional actions.

Zabarauskas Meets Unit Chief

OW2608141391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1350 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Lithuanian Deputy Interior Minister Vaclovas Zabarauskas met with chief of the Vilnius OMON [Special Purpose Milita Detachment] special unit Boleslav Makutinovic on August 25.

During the meeting Makutinovic demanded that members of the unit be given a gurantee that they will not be put on trial.

Zabarauskas pointed out that cases of all OMON members would be considered individually in full campliance with Lithuania's laws.

Parliamentary Spokesman: Unit Disarmed

OW2608112991 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1100 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Spokesman for the Lithuanian parliament Audrius Ajubalis told a news briefing Monday that the Vilnius OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] special unit had been disarmed by the military.

Mr. Ajubalis said this information had been provided by the Command of the Vilnius Military Garrison from the northern military station where the Vilnius OMON is stationed.

Authorities Detain Officers

LD2608181791 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] Algirdas Meskauskas, the territorial defense representative for information, reports that two officers arrived by car from Sovetsk and were detained at the former Special Purpose Militia Detachment [OMON] headquarters on the night of 24-25 August. Apparently unaware of the fact that the OMON were no longer inside, they requested that OMON member (Vitaliy Beltin) be summoned. Last night, at about 1700, three majors, all from different military units, arrived in a passenger car and were also detained at the same location. Unfortunately, all of these visitors were armed. Having entered the former OMON base—the headquarters in Valakintai—they noticed the inscriptions on boards reading—We Will Return and [words indistinct]—similarly, the OMON were evicted and have not escaped.

Military Exercises Temporarily Halted in Plunge

LD2608213191

[Editorial report] Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian at 1300 GMT on 26 August carries a three-minute telephone report from Plunge, by Edmundas Zabulis, Lithuanian Radio correspondent, who says that "residents of Plunge were very worried because the military unit deployed in Plunge announced that on 26 of August training exercises would be held." The correspondent says that it is already midday and no movements in the military garrison have been observed. He adds that Colonel (Sokolenko), the unit commander, "explained that the training exercise has been cancelled in order not to continue disturbing the peace of the residents of Plunge". However, the unit commander added that the training exercises remain on the agenda.

Yeltsin's Office: Right To 'Revise' Borders

LD2608161491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1532 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, 26 Aug (TASS)—In recent days several Union republics have proclaimed their independence and declared they are leaving the USSR, according to a statement by Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] President Boris Yeltsin's press secretary published here today. It is possible that there will also be other decisions that will substantially alter the balance of relations within the framework of the single federation. In this regard, says the document, I am authorized by the RSFSR president to make the following statement:

"The Russian Federation cast no doubts on the constitutional right of every state and people to self-determination. However, the problem of borders still exists. It may be left unresolved and is only tolerable as such if there exists a relationship of alliance which is registered in a relevant treaty. In the event that such a relationship ceases, the RSFSR reserves the right to raise the issue to revise borders. This applies to all contiguous republics, with the exception of the three Baltic republics of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia, whose independence has already been recognized by Russia, thus confirming that the territorial problem in bilateral relations is solvable."

Yeltsin Suspends RSFSR Communist Party

LD2508000591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2300 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, 25 Aug (TASS)—A decree by Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] President Boris Yeltsin "on suspending the activity of the Communist Party [CP] of the RSFSR" was circulated here today.

It says: The CP of the RSFSR, operating on the territory of the RSFSR and not registered by the stipulated procedure, supported the so-called State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR, which carried out a coup d'etat and removed the USSR President from his post by violent means. Emergency committees (commissions) were set up in a number of regions of the RSFSR with the direct participation of republican, kray, and oblast organs of the CP of the RSFSR, which is a gross violation of the USSR law on "public associations".

The organs of the CP of the RSFSR in the republics, krays, and oblasts have on several occasions, in spite of the RSFSR Constitution, interfered in judicial activity, and are obstructing the execution of the RSFSR president's decree of 20 July 1991 "on discontinuing the activity of the organizational structures of political parties and mass public movements in state organs, establishments, and organizations in the RSFSR".

On the basis of the above, I decree:

1. The RSFSR Ministry of Internal Affairs and the RSFSR Procuracy are to carry out an investigation into cases of anti-constitutional activity by organs of the CP of the RSFSR. The relevant materials are to be sent for examination by judicial organs.

2. Until the question of the unconstitutionality of the actions of the CP of the RSFSR have been resolved by judicial procedures, the activity of the organs and organizations of the CP of the RSFSR is to be suspended.

3. The Ministry of Internal Affairs of the RSFSR is to guarantee that the property and monetary resources of the bodies and organizations of the CP of the RSFSR are to be kept safe until the adoption of a final decision by the judicial bodies.

4. The central bank of the RSFSR is to guarantee that operations to spend resources from the accounts of the bodies and organizations of the CP of the RSFSR are to be suspended until special instructions are issued.

5. The proposal is to be made to the procurator's office of the RSFSR that it guarantee supervision of the execution of the above decree.

6. This decree comes into force as soon as it is signed.

Party in Armed Forces Abolished; Papers Suspended

LD2308143191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Text] Before the start of our broadcast, our special correspondent Andrey Vedutov telephoned me. At the moment he is in the reception room of the Russian Defense Ministry and the head of staff of defense at the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet, Lieutenant General Kobets, and confirms that concern today is still in no way unfounded. At the moment he is linked up with our studio, live on the air, and is prepared to share his thoughts with us. Andrey, can you hear me?

[Vedutov] Yes, I can hear you. Concern over the euphoria of victory is not mistaken. The headquarters for the defense of the White House knows this better than anyone else. I now have with me a member of the defense staff, Lieutenant Colonel Aleksandr Arkadiyevich Kuturev. I will ask him about the situation at the present time.

[Kuturev] Hello, compatriots. Thanks to your decisive support we have defended the sovereignty of Russia. The officers and personnel of military units within the borders of the city showed restraint in recent days, did not give in to the anti-constitutional calls, nor permit violence against the peaceful inhabitants of the capital.

Russian people, the euphoria over success is our first and most dangerous enemy. Be prepared for any provocations. Do not allow provocative rumors to spread. Be calm and have good sense. The party rule has not abandoned its positions. A blow has been struck only against the tip of the anti-people iceberg, the main work is still ahead. The party rule is changing its tactics, changing its colors. It is adapting to the new conditions. Do not allow this. Act strictly in accordance with the Russian Constitution. The destiny of the fatherland, our children and grandchildren is in our hands.

[Vedutov] It must be noted that the most tense moments of the putsch were caused by [as heard] the full cooperation of the Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs and the soldiers who came over to the side of Russia, which was implemented by Major General Chernushev. Now, from volunteers all over the town, various bits of information are constantly coming in; for example, according to absolutely reliable information, it is well known that the minister of the aviation industry, Comrade Systsov, issued a secret decree instructing enterprise heads to implement measures aiding the fulfillment of the decrees of the State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE]. At enterprises of the military-industrial complex, the following carried out the instructions of the SCSE in the service of the regime: the town of Kaliningrad, Moskovskiy Oblast, the KPO-Strela enterprise, (Kornyshev), deputy general director for conditions, and (Morontsev), head of the conditions section.

Comrade Lieutenant Colonel, I see that in your hands you have the latest decree of the Russian president, Boris Yeltsin.

[Kuturev] Yes, on 22 August 1991, Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, president of Russia, signed a decree on halting the activities of the military-political bodies and the organizational structures of political parties within the USSR Armed Forces on RSFSR territory.

The party political leadership of the USSR Armed Forces and the forces of the USSR Committee for State Security and the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs supported and participated in the state coup. The party organization of the CPSU, in sections and as a whole, facilitated the use of force against the peaceful population.

As RSFSR president and commander of the USSR Armed Forces on RSFSR territory, I decree:

1. To abolish military-political bodies and forbid the functioning of the organizational structures of political parties in the USSR Armed Forces, the railway troops, and in other militarized formations, forces, establishments, and educational institutions of the USSR Committee for State Security and the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs stationed on RSFSR territory.

2. This particular decree comes into force the moment that it is signed.

[Signed] Boris Yeltsin, RSFSR president

[Dated] 22 August 1991, Moscow, the Kremlin

[Vedutov] Here they have just brought in a new decree by the president of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic:

On the activities of TASS, NOVOSTI, and a number of newspapers that disinformed the population and the world community about events in the country:

The coup which took place in the USSR and the attempt to overthrow violently the legitimate authorities in Russia have shown the danger of the monopolization of the mass media which operate on RSFSR territory. TASS, NOVOSTI, and also the newspapers PRAVDA, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, GLASNOST, RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA, MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA, LENINSKAYA ZNAMYA, and others conducted an active campaign of slander against representatives of the legitimate authorities, disinformed the people, and in essence showed themselves to be co-participants in the state coup. In accordance with the above I decree:

1. To temporarily suspend the publication of the newspapers PRAVDA, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, GLASNOST, RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA, MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA, and LENINSKAYA ZNAMYA as publications of the CPSU due to their active support for the illegal actions of the USSR SCSE and their propagation of actions directed at the violent overthrow of the constitutional system.

To transfer the property of the sections of the mass media indicated to the jurisdiction of RSFSR state bodies. The RSFSR Ministry of the Press and Mass Information will determine the form of their further operations. The RSFSR Procuracy eill legally appraise the actions of the above-mentioned newspapers in accordance with Article 5 of the USSR Law on the Press and other sections of the mass media.

2. To remove and prohibit TASS General Director Spiridonov and NOVOSTI Chairman Vlasov from carrying out their official duties due to their disinforming the population and the world community about events in the country.

3. The RSFSR Council of Ministers will introduce a proposal on the reorganization of TASS, and transfer NOVOSTI and all publishers, printing enterprises, and enterprises supplying them on RSFSR territory which are the property of the CPSU—apart from publishers and printing enterprises situated on the territory of republics within the area of the RSFSR—to the jurisdiction of the RSFSR Ministry of the Press and Mass Information.

4. This decree comes into force at the moment of its signing.

[Signed] Boris Yeltsin, RSFSR president

[Dated] 22 August 1991, Moscow, the Kremlin

This was the latest information available at this time, and from the headquarters of the defense of the White House. This is Andrey Vedutov, Radio Rossii.

Paper Suspension: 'Gross Violation' of Rights

PM2608165391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Aug 91 Union Edition p 6

[Letter from S. Peruanskiy, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic people's deputy: "On the Suspension of Newspapers' Activities and the Right to Information"; date not given]

[Text] The most important element of the swift victory over the junta was President Yeltsin's unwavering decisiveness. But shortcomings are the extension of virtues. With the very same decisiveness, certain newspapers' activities were suspended.

A newspaper is more than just sheets of paper, it is more than just its editorial office. A newspaper is a living social process in which tens of millions of people are involved. To suspend a newspaper's activities is to violate the right of totally innocent citizens to be kept informed and to be given an opportunity to express their opinion.

The publication of the junta's directives in a newspaper should not be regarded as complicity in the plot, as it is a newspaper's sacred duty to inform readers of the most important phenomena. It was precisely from these documents that citizens were able to assess for themselves the mendacity, hypocrisy, and lack of common sense of their authors.

Only a refusal to publish the legitimate leadership's decrees is complicity in the plot, but in conditions of a military coup the opportunity to publish them is not at all dependent on editorial offices.

The Decree on Suspending Newspapers' Activities is thus a gross violation of human rights and must be immediately rescinded.

[Signed] S. Peruanskiy, RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] people's deputy

CPSU Archives Placed Under Russian Control

LD2408172791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1704 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, 24 Aug (TASS)—"Because the CPSU was part of the state apparatus, the documents that accumulated in the course of its activities are subject to keeping by the state," says a decree of Russian President Boris Yeltsin, signed today. This is done "in order to prevent the illegal destruction of documents from the party archives in the RSFSR".

The central party archive of the Institute of the Theory and History of Socialism of the CPSU Central Committee, the day-to-day documentation archive of the general department of the CPSU Central Committee, and the party archives of the oblast committees and kray committees of the CPSU and of the Moscow and Leningrad city committees of the CPSU are being placed under the jurisdiction of Russian archive bodies.

Russian TV Details Search of KGB Headquarters

LD2408133991 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2011 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Progress-TV Artistic Director Vladimir Molchanov's video report from KGB Headquarters in Moscow on 23 August; from the "Vesti" newscast—recorded]

[Text] The building of the USSR KGB is entered by Valentin Stepankov, Russia's prosecutor general; Shchukin, investigator for especially important cases; and the leadership of the KGB of Russia. What is going to take place now is something that has not been seen in the history of this department since the times of Lavrentiy Beria: a search of the holy of holies, the office and apartments of Vladimir Kryuchkov, the arrested chairman of the KGB. [video shows three men entering the KGB building: guard salutes, official shows them along a corridor into an office]

All those taking part in this action are extremely courteous toward each other, but also noticeably perplexed. They gave us permission to film everything, but warned us that we have no right to show confiscated documents close up. [Video shows the visitors entering a long, narrow conference room with a portrait of Gorbachev on the wall, and sitting down at the table]

[Unidentified official seated at table reading from document] ...Other criminal actions of Yanayev, vice president of the USSR; Kryuchkov, chairman of the USSR Committee for State Security; and also other individuals, taking into account the fact that according to the data of the preliminary investigation there is sufficient foundation to believe that documents testifying to the criminal activity of this group might be located at Kryuchkov's place of work, the (?RSFSR deputy prosecutor) has resolved that a search be carried out at Kryuchkov's place of work and at his official dacha for the purpose of seeking out and confiscating the documents referred to. [Video shows official completing a form entitled Protocol of Search; hands leafing through notebooks; a bundle of printed booklets of which the top one is entitled Post- Perestroyka: a Conceptual Model for the Development of Our Society, Political Parties and Public Organizations, by S.Ye. Kurginyan, B.R. Autenshlyus, P.S. Goncharov, Yu.V. Gromyko, and two other illegible names; officials taking things out of drawers]

[Molchanov] The opening of this safe will take place in a few minutes' time; they are looking for the key. In the meantime, this is the adjoining room where Vladimir Kryuchkov worked on his own, watched television and a video tape recorder. He kept the programs of concerts and plays he attended, and photographs and souvenirs that were dear to him, along with a large number of files whose contents are unknown to us.

Alongside is a bedroom. It is very difficult for me to judge whether or not the investigators have found anything important here. They have not said a word to us. All we could hear were quietly exchanged words.

Perhaps the main thing is to be found in this safe: a number of bundles and files, and Kryuchkov's personal documents and some notes. It would be interesting to know what kind of notes these were that the former KGB chairman kept in his safe. Perhaps they contain evidence that the circle of plotters was somewhat wider. But that is just my own supposition which neither the prosecutor nor the investigator have been able to confirm because investigations are secret. When the search of the safe began we had to stop filming. Then a few hours later—this time in a completely different place—we were offered two meetings, very brief ones, and just two questions. [video shows officials searching office and bedroom]

KGB Demands for Arrest Warrants Noted

LD2608191991 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Text] Lieutenant General Smirnov, the Moscow military commandant, has told a RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY correspondent that at about 0600 on 19 August, a KGB colonel named Kalinin came to the Moscow military commandant's office requesting that administrative arrest warrants issued by the Moscow commandant's office be stamped. The chief of staff of the commandant's office at first refused to do this, but after an officer from the Moscow Military District administration confirmed the colonel's authority, he put the stamp of authorization of the Moscow military commandant's office on about 50 warrant forms. According to Lieutenant General Smirnov, the forms were not made out. Smirnov said: I do not think any more forms were made up. These 50 were evidently needed for the arrest of a small circle of people.

Yeltsin Advocates Government People Can Trust

OW2308001691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2051 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Addressing 100,000 Muscovites at a rally at the RSFSR Supreme Soviet (parliament) Thursday, the Russian President Boris Yeltsin said that the recent crisis has been a lesson for everyone including President Gorbachev. He greeted the Russians, who had made a decisive contribution to the victory over the "dictatorship of the eight."

According to the Russian president, the anticonstitutional actions by the Emergency Committee had received tacit endorsement on the part of the neo-Stalinist leadership of the Communist Party. He condemned the behind-the-scene role the Chairman of the USSR Parliament Anatoliy Lukyanov had allegedly played in the abortive coup (Russia's premier described Lukyanov as the chief ideologist of the coup) and aimed an angry salvo against first deputy of the USSR Prime Minister Vladimir Shcherbakov and some of the Union ministers who had taken directions from the Emergency Committee and are now trying to whitewash themselves.

Yeltsin urged a speedier transformation of the Union state structures that, as is clear from the recent crisis, proved overly conservative. According to him, the formation of a government the masses can now trust is an urgent necessity. The Russian president spoke in favour of amendments to the Union Treaty as some of its provisions, Yeltsin said, were patently weak.

The developments demonstrated that Russia cannot any longer exist without a National Guard of its own, emphasized the speaker. The Russian Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy has already been charged with forming the troops. 5 Speaking earlier at a session of the Russian parliament, Yeltsin said that the members of the Emergency Committee Yanayev, Yazov, Kryuchkov and Tizyakov were under arrest. Premier Pavlov was in a guarded hospital cell because of high blood pressure. The USSR Supreme Soviet consented to the arrest of Baklanov and Starodubtsev, both Emergency Committee members, who had enjoyed immunity as parliamentarians. Former Interior Minister Pugo committed suicide before he could be arrested.

Yeltsin Announces Two New Appointments

LD2608182991 Moscow TASS in English 1812 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 26 TASS—A decree by Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin on the appointment of Gavriil Popov a representative of the Russian Federation in Moscow and the Moscow region was published here today.

In another decree, Yeltsin appointed Aleksandr Shokhin minister of labour of the Russian Federation.

Appointments in USSR Ministries

LD2608175491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1715 GMT 26 Aug 91

["Report by the Information Department of the RSFSR president"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 26 Aug (TASS)—A report from the Information Department of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] president has been published here today. It says:

Because of the extraordinary importance of several USSR ministries and departments and the situation regarding the virtual cooperation between the former leadership and those behind the putsch, Ivan Silayev, chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers and head of the committee for the operational management of the country's national economy, has, by agreement with the USSR president and prior to the appointment of the new leadership of these departments, entrusted duties involved in running them to the appropriate members of the RSFSR Government and RSFSR officials: —USSR Gosbank: Andrey Zverev

—USSR Ministry of Finance: Igor Lazarev
—USSR Ministry of Trade: Aleksandr Khlystov
—USSR Foreign Economic Bank: Valeriy Telegin
—USSR Ministry of Economics and Forecasting: Yevgeniy Saburov
—USSR Ministry of Economics and Relations: Valeriy Mangazeyev
—USSR Chamber of Trade and Industry: Mikhail Kuryachev
—Office of the USSR Cabinet of Ministers: Alla Zakharova

Yeltsin, Poland's Walesa Discuss Events

LD2108160491 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1300 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Telephone conversation between Polish President Lech Walesa in Warsaw and Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin in Moscow on 21 August; Yeltsin speaks in Russian with superimposed Polish translation—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] After many attempts, Lech Walesa managed to phone through to the President of the Russian Republic, Boris Yeltsin, an hour ago. Lech Walesa also spoke to Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel, and to the Premier of the Hungarian Republic, Jozsef Antall.

[Walesa] Greetings from the Polish president to Mr President.

[Yeltsin] Hello, Mr President, esteemed Walesa.

[Walesa] Mr President, on behalf of the Polish nation, I greet you with concern and with friendship. We are concerned, and we want everything to turn out well for you, but, as you know, sir, we have to be careful, so that no one can accuse us of interfering in your internal affairs. This is the second day that I have been trying to contact you, and I would like to hear what we, as friends, can do for you, and how best not to undermine our friendship.

[Yeltsin] Good. Thank you, Mr President, for your concern and for your telephone call. Thank you for supporting the stance of the leadership of Russia. Briefly as to our position: The anti-constitutional coup which was carried out by eight representatives of the authorities, who illegally removed President Gorbachev from the fulfillment of his presidential duties, is forcing Russia, the Russian leadership and myself as its president, to take radical measures. I have issued decrees regarding the fact that this committee is an anti-constitutional body. On the territory of Russia, none of this committee's decisions will be implemented. The armed forces and the KGB as well as the Ministry of Internal Affairs troops on Russian soil, taking into account that there is no commander in chief, while the minister of defense has become a member of this criminal group, and so all of these armed forces are to be subordinated as of now to the president of Russia. [sentence as heard]

All our attempts to contact President Gorbachev have come to nothing. He is immobilized in the Crimea. All possible contact with him has been broken. An extraordinary meeting of our parliament is taking place today. I have just been speaking. A decision (?will be) taken at this meeting that this group took an anti-constitutional decision, and that the decisions of this committee will not be implemented on russian soil. We have also taken the decision [word indistinct] during the night, at three in the morning, I made contact with the chairman of the KGB, Kryuchkov, and we even considered going together to [word indistinct] to President Gorbachev, so that we could come back here together, but the Supreme Soviet of Russia, guided by safety considerations, did not give permission for my journey [as heard]. The Russian Premier Silayev will go there, but in this situation, Kryuchkov, chairman of the KGB, did not wish to fly together with this [words indistinct]. That is why we cannot be sure that Silayev will be able to meet Gorbachev there.

The most recent information from President Gorbachev's doctor, (?on 19th), says that Gorbachev is well. Yanayev's statement that Gorbachev is ill does not, therefore, accord with reality, but we must convince ourselves of this with our own eyes. That is also why world public opinion, because (?I) have already spoken to Bush and Genscher and Mitterand and Mrs Thatcher [word indistinct] Havel, now ought to demand the release of President Gorbachev—in practical terms, his release from arrest. [Words indistinct] the international health organization would pronounce on the state of his health.

I am convinced that such a commission will confirm the opinion that he can fulfill his functions and direct the state. And then this committee could be removed and also stand before a court. I think that the Supreme Soviet will in one and a half hours time make precisely such a decision. Such a decree has already been signed by me.

[Walesa] Mr. President! Please pass on to everywhere possible the unease, Polish unease and sincere friendship expressed, and best wishes to Gorbachev, wherever he is. If there should turn out to be any needs, then our friendship is ready for cooperation.

[Yeltsin] I, Mr. President, am grateful for the concern, for the words that your president has said, and I think that your [word indistinct] Mr. President, as a politician of enormous world authority, will have a significant influence on international public opinion, on all countries expressing their attitude on the events in the Soviet Union and also their support for the stance of the leadership of Russia, which is trying to do everything on the constitutional road, and also intends to develop democracy and also reforms and the transfer to a market economy and also the transfer to civilized roads of development. We are also very interested in direct contact with the Polish Republic. We are ready to sign perhaps directly about such contacts [as heard], as now to all intents and purposes such contacts have been broken off. I am grateful to you, Mr. President, for the telephone call and also for the support that the president has expressed, and also for the concern. I remember our direct meeting, and will always remember it.

[Walesa] (?It will not be the last). I wish you all the best. May God guide you! I am awaiting good news.

[Yeltsin] Thank you. I will surely be sending you all the good news. So far, for the second day now, we are not leaving the building of the Soviet of the Republic. We still fear an attack, as such an attack is still not precluded.

[Walesa] World public opinion is with you!

[Yeltsin] Thank you, Mr. President. All the best, Mr. President, I embrace you most heartily, Mr. President, and am thinking of our, [changes thought] so as to most quickly (?meet) with you.

[Walesa] Thank you very much.

[Yeltsin] Goodbye.

Yeltsin Meets CSFR Presidential Office Head

LD2408224291 Prague CTK in English 1806 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow Aug 24 (CTK correspondent)—Receiving the head of the Czechoslovak presidential office, Karel Schwarzenberk, here today Soviet President Boris Yeltsin [name and title as received] thanked for the solidarity displayed by Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel and all Czechoslovakia with the struggle of the Russian people. Schwarzenberk conveyed to Yeltsin Havel's congratulations on the victory of democracy and voiced the conviction that the victory of democracy in Russia is a victory for all Europe. Schwarzenberk also informed Yeltsin of Czechoslovakia's interest in the closest possible relations between Czechoslovakia and the Russian Federation. Yeltsin visited Czechoslovakia in May.

Yeltsin Issues Decrees on Economy, Supplies

Technical, Material Supply

LD2308111291 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0900 23 Aug 91

[Text] Here is another decree we have received. It is the decree by the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] president on strengthening RSFSR bodies for material and technical supply:

Proceeding from the program of the government of the Russian Federation for stabilizing the economy, changing over to market relations, protecting the economic sovereignty of the RSFSR and strengthening republican bodies for material and technical supply, it has been decreed that the wholesale and intermediary firms of the USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply [USSR Gossnab], which are situated on the territory of the Russian Federation, are, in accordance with the appendix to the decree, being handed over to the control of the RSFSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply for republican and regional programs.

The republican councils of ministers are instructed to conclude the formation of the system for material and technical supply in the third quarter of this year.

More on Technical Supply

PM2408120391 Moscow TRUD in Russian 24 Aug 91 p 1

[Unnumbered decree by RSFSR President B. Yeltsin: "On the Strengthening of RSFSR Material and Technical Supply Organs"]

[Text] On the basis of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] program to stabilize the economy and move to market relations, and with a view to protecting the RSFSR's economic sovereignty and strengthening the republic's material and technical supply organs, **I resolve**:

1. To decree that, in accordance with the appendix to this decree, the former USSR Gossnab's [State Committee for Material and Technical Supply] wholesale and intermediary firms located on RSFSR territory are to be transferred to the RSFSR State Committee for the Material and Technical Supply of Republic and Regional Programs.

2. The RSFSR Council of Ministers is to complete within the third quarter of 1991 the formation of a system of material and technical supply on RSFSR territory.

[Signed] RSFSR President B. Yeltsin
[Dated] 18 August 1991, Moscow, the Kremlin

Ukase on Economic Sovereignty

91UN2496A Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Aug 91 p 2

["Ukase of the President of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic on Providing the Economic Foundation of RSFSR Sovereignty"—ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA headline]

[Text] In the interest of the multinational people of the Russian Federation and proceeding from the decisions of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Congresses of People's Deputies and the RSFSR Supreme Soviet and RSFSR laws on providing the economic foundation of RSFSR sovereignty, I hereby resolve:

1. The RSFSR Council of Ministers shall: —By 1 January 1992, ensure the transfer and acceptance of enterprises and organizations reporting to the Union which are located in the territory of the Russian Federation, with the exception of those whose management has been delegated to the appropriate organs of the USSR by RSFSR legislation, into the jurisdiction of the RSFSR organs of state government and those of the republics comprising the USSR. The above enterprises and organizations shall ensure the unconditional fulfillment of state requisitions and contractual obligations in 1991; —By 1 January 1992, develop and submit to the RSFSR president proposals for expanding the capacity of enterprises of the defense industries located in the RSFSR in the interests of improving the people's standard of living; —By 1 January 1992, carry out necessary measures with a view to developing and implementing unified systems of economic and statistical indicators, accounting of economic entities, and merchandise coding which comply with rules adopted in international practice.

2. Enterprises and organizations located or operating in the territory of the RSFSR (including those reporting to the Union) follow RSFSR legislation and apply laws and other acts of USSR organs through procedures established by the RSFSR law "On the Effect of Acts by USSR Organs in the Territory of the RSFSR";

3. In cooperation with the RSFSR Central Bank, the RSFSR Council of Ministers shall submit to the RSFSR president by 1 October 1991 proposals for:

a. Forming the gold reserve and the diamond and foreign-exchange stocks of the RSFSR;

b. Determining the contribution of the RSFSR, which must be allocated to pay the external debt of the USSR, as well as the share which is to be received when debts owed to the USSR by foreign countries are divided up;

c. Taxing the foreign-exchange profits of enterprises, organizations, and citizens;

d. Perfecting the credit and settlement mechanism and stabilizing finances, providing an opportunity to act together with other Union republics.

4. The RSFSR Council of Ministers shall implement proposals for suspending the effect of the ukase of the USSR president: "On Special Procedures for the Use of Foreign-Exchange Resources in 1991," dated 2 November 1991.

5. The RSFSR Council of Ministers will determine that in the RSFSR (including the continental shelf), the prospecting and mining of minerals, commercial fishing, and the harvesting of marine fauna and flora are to be carried out solely on the basis of special permits (licenses). Enterprises, organizations, and citizens engaging in operations of this type must obtain appropriate licenses before 1 July 1992. —By 1 January 1992, the RSFSR Council of Ministers shall submit proposals for licensing these types of operations, as well as attracting foreign investment and granting concessions to foreign juridical persons for prospecting and mining minerals in the republic (including the continental shelf).

6. The RSFSR Council of Ministers shall: —Ensure the establishment of a system of Union and republic customs organs of the RSFSR by 1 October 1991; —Coordinate with the USSR Cabinet of Ministers on procedures for establishing jointly the rates of customs duties in export and import dealings in the RSFSR.

Resolutions of Union organs regarding procedures for the import (export) of goods, as well as establishing the rates of customs duties, adopted without coordination with the duly empowered organs of the RSFSR do not apply in the territory of the RSFSR.

7. Before 1 January 1992, the RSFSR Council of Ministers and the executive organs of power of the republics comprising the RSFSR shall ensure the registration of all economic entities being transferred to the jurisdiction of the organs of state government of the RSFSR and the republics comprising the RSFSR in keeping with the present ukase.

8. The Main State Tax Inspectorate of the RSFSR Ministry of Finance shall develop and submit by 1 November 1991 proposals the introduction of the registration of entrepreneurial operations by the tax organs and the issuance of certificates (licenses) confirming the right to engage in them.

9. In the process of implementing the present ukase, the RSFSR Council of Ministers shall cooperate with Union republics and republics comprising the RSFSR on issues affecting their interests.

10. The RSFSR Committee for Protecting the Economic Interests of the RSFSR under the RSFSR president shall be created to ensure the monitoring of protection for the economic interests of the RSFSR.

11. The RSFSR Council of Ministers and the Committee for Protecting the Economic Interests of the RSFSR are instructed to monitor compliance with the present ukase.

The RSFSR Council of Ministers shall inform the RSFSR president on a regular basis on progress in executing the present ukase.

12. The present ukase takes effect from the moment of its publication.

[Signed] **B. Yeltsin, president of the RSFSR**

[Dated] 20 August 1991, Moscow, the Kremlin

No. 66

Share of Foreign Debt

OW2608081291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1245 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Yeltsin of Russia has ordered for all centrally-run plants and institutions in the republic to be brought under its own jurisdiction. Plans are in progress to establish Russia's own reserve of gold, diamonds and foreign exchange.

The Russian government was instructed to determine the republic's share of the country's foreign debt to be serviced. Mr. Yeltsin's new decree also suspends President Gorbachev's decree of last November ordering plants to remit 40 percent of their foreign exchange revenues to the state.

The Russian government is authorised to work out a package of measures to attract foreign investment, and provide mineral concessions to foreign companies.

The cabinet was instructed to set up Russia's own customs office until October 1st, and a special committee will be formed to monitor the observance of the republic's economic interests.

Bocharov Interviewed on Republic Food Supply

LD2608155391 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1400 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Studio interview with Mikhail Bocharov, chairman of the Russian Supreme Economic Council, by Yevgeniy Zherebenkov—live]

[Excerpts] [Zherebenkov] The political union of the republics is falling apart before our eyes. What is to become of the economic links and the so-called single economic space? I invited Mikhail Bocharov, chairman of the Supreme Economic Council of Russia, to our studio. [passage omitted]

Mikhail Mikhaylovich, if the worst happens, will Russia be able to feed itself and to make its economy workable if many republics leave the Union and if the economic links are broken?

[Bocharov] For the next year or six months, it is physically impossible because the economy as a whole is so integrated within a single economic space that Russia would not be able to feed itself. We do not have sufficient resources, including hard currency resources, although Russia, in this respect, is the richest. We need to be integrated, or rather, to continue to be integrated, not only so far as foodstuffs are concerned, but also in material and technical provision—in particular, right now, where deliveries to the extreme north regions are concerned. Without deliveries from those republics, we will not be able to implement deliveries to the extreme north regions and to some other regions of Russia, where the bread situation is already extremely difficult today.

Yeltsin Decree on President's Representatives

LD2508162991 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1400 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Text] RSFSR [Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic] President Boris Yeltsin has signed a decree on representatives of the Russian president in the krays and oblasts of the RSFSR. With the aim of coordinating the activities of the bodies of executive power of the republic and krays and oblasts, the following are appointed representatives of the president:

Yuriy Moskvich in Krasnoyarsk Kray;
Vladimir Desyatov in Khabarovsk Kray;
Valeriy (?Androv) in Astrakhan Oblast;
Yevgeniy Kuznetsov in Volgograd Oblast;
Nikolay Yegorov in Vladimir Oblast;
Vladimir Tolmachev in Ivanovo Oblast;
Anatoliy Malykhin in Kemerovo Oblast;
Anatoliy Anokhin in Novosibirsk;
Vladislav Shapovalenko in Orenburg Oblast;
Nikolay Molokov in Ryazan Oblast;
Vladimir Golovachev in Saratov Oblast;
Valentin (?Avyatulin) in Tambov Oblast;
Stanislav Seleznev in Tyumen Oblast; and
Vladimir (?Varukhin) in Yaroslavl Oblast.

Republic Deputy on Cabinet Meeting on Coup Day

LD2508111991 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1334 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Interview with Nikolay Vorontsov, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) people's deputy and minister of natural resources and environmental protection, by reporter Yevgeniy Zherebenkov at the RSFSR Supreme Soviet on 22 August—recorded]

[Text] [Yegeniy Zherebenkov] It is still not clear what role Valentin Pavlov and the members of the Cabinet of Ministers headed by him played in the attempted coup. There is one thing that can most probably be said: Distinct from the Russian government, which precisely defined its position, refused to recognize the usurping committee, refused to be subordinated to it, and actively defended the lawful authorities, the Union Cabinet of Ministers adopted a passive, if not a criminal, lack of will and a failure to act. Time, and quite possibly a court, will put things into perspective and make an assessment of everyone, but I think that a great deal can be clarified now about the session of USSR Cabinet of Ministers that took place on the evening of 19 August, the day of the coup. Among the members of the cabinet is RSFSR People's Deputy Nikolay Vorontsov, who was present at that session. How did it go?

[Nikolay Vorontsov] As you know, the session lasted three hours. It was referred to as an extraordinary session of the Cabinet of Ministers. The first thing that attracts one's attention in connection with the real emergency situation that had taken shape is the surprising, the absolutely amazing, sluggishness of the Cabinet of Ministers. The state of emergency had been in effect in the country since the morning. It was declared in the morning. A coup—or whatever it can be described as—had been staged, yet the Cabinet of Ministers, the central body, did not assemble until 1800. Up to that time, not a single minister—or at least myself as a member of the Cabinet—received any documents or instructions.

How did the session go? Well, it was stressed all the time at this session that the Cabinet of Ministers is an exclusively executive body. It does not have anything to do with politics. We are simply responsible for the country's national economy not collapsing. However, in the speeches—they were started by Pavlov—he spoke about whether we were prepared to work under the conditions of a state of emergency. He said that a whole series of things are not being carried out.

Political problems were emphatically not raised. The surname of the lawful president, Gorbachev, was not heard in any one of the approximately 15 speeches made before my speech. This is an absolutely amazing thing. Moreover, a whole number of ministers simply said with satisfaction: We were waiting for this to happen.

Although many speakers avoided speaking about politics, Comrade Katushev, minister of foreign economic relations, who is generally a competent man, expressed support. Comrade Sychev, chairman of the State Standards Committee, said that the state of emergency should have been brought in long ago. Vladimir Kuzmich Gusev, chairman of the Chemical Industry Committee, spoke about politics. He said: If we retreat even one iota, we must be ready to sacrifice our jobs and our lives, but we will not get another chance. These are definitely putsch-like moods. Minister of Civil Aviation Panyukov said that we were late in introducing a state of emergency.

A representative of the Ministry of Machine-Building spoke. The ministries and the USSR Academy of Sciences managed to wriggle out of speaking. The Presidium of the Academy of Sciences managed to avoid making a statement about the situation, and even the engineering academy. They were all in favor of what had happened. They were all in favor of the coup, and all in favor of the emergency measures. They said that we can see what is going on in Manezh Square. There are some lazy people roaming about, and it is necessary to be more resolute.

There were only 700 people there. Pavlov said: Let people walk around. I am against tanks, Pavlov said. Let them walk around and talk. Well, it must be said that Pavlov also said that these were idle people. You cannot compare some labor collectives with Manezh Square. Obviously, he was naive to think that he was leaning on the support of the working class of the country and that he was demonstrating with it.

[Zherebenkov] I know that you proposed to some members of the Cabinet of Ministers that they dissociate themselves from this position.

[Vorontsov] My first proposal was as follows: I was the first to pronounce the name of Gorbachev in a very cautious way. I said: Comrades, you have fogotten. I was elected by the people's deputies, that is, by the Supreme Soviet, but I was appointed by President Gorbachev, not by somebody else. In my view, the other ministers were as well. One reply to this was a statement by comrade Shcherbakov—although replies were varied and cautious—who said that we did not come here to work under an individual. It must be said that Shcherbakov spoke against. He said that he was confused by the presence of such people who compromised themselves, like Starodubtsev and Tizyakov, whose antimarket position is well known. A return to 1929 will be under discussion, but this is bad and he is not supporting this.

Then Nikolay Nikolayevich Gubenko spoke quite cautiously and in a different style. He said we cannot forget about the intellectual potential of the country and that tomorrow he would meet creative intelligentsia. Of course, among creative intelligentsia there are people who are thirsty for blood. I was suprised by this statement but he did not [word indistinct] President Gorbachev. Such a speech.

I proposed the only constructive thing: I proposed, being a people's deputy of Russia, that we establish communication between the Cabinet of Ministers and the White House. I was regularly informing everybody where I was, in what office in the White House, and what my telephone number was. The Cabinet of Ministers did not make any attempts to establish communication with the White House in order not to bring the whole matter to bloodshed. I characterize the position of the Cabinet of Ministers, of the Politburo, and of all of us as carelessness, inactivity in a critical situation, perhaps with the features of criminal carelessness and criminal inactivity.

[Zherebenkov] We were talking to Nikolay Nikolayevich Vorontsov, minister of natural resources and environmental protection, who during the days of the putsch stated his disagreement with cooperating with the plotters and the transition of his ministry to the subordination of the president of Russia. A similar statement was signed by Khadzhiyev, USSR Minister of the Chemical and Petroleum Industry. There were honest people even in the Union Cabinet of Ministers.

Deputy Denounces Foreign Ministry's Conduct

LD2308134891 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1900 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Andrey Fedorov has said the behavior of the leadership of the USSR Foreign Ministry during the coup attempt of the night of 18 August can be compared to that of a political prostitute interested only in who pays the most money. In accordance with an instruction sent by the USSR

Foreign Ministry on Monday 19 August, USSR ambassadors very promptly conveyed a message from the State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE] to leaders of foreign countries and started efforts to ensure its recogniton. Only later did a few declare their disagreement with the actions of the SCSE. In connection with this, Andrey Fedorov says in an open letter to USSR Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh that the USSR Foreign Ministry continues to place the interests of the CPSU above the interests of the people and country. At 1000 in the morning on 20 August, Yuliy Kvitsinskiy, USSR first deputy foreign minister ordered the stopping of a special telegram drafted on the instructions of Russian President Yeltsin. The telegram, addressed to all USSR embassies and consulates abroad, explained the stand of the Russian leadership in connection with the attempted coup in the USSR. Hardly a single Soviet embassy abroad, which received by telex the texts of the Yeltsin decrees and information about events in the country, conveyed them to the leadership of the countries in which they were based. Andrey Fedorov demanded that the USSR foreign minister hand over to the investigative bodies all documents showing that de facto the SCSE found a fine ally in the USSR Foreign Ministry.

Parliamentary Group To Investigate Plotters

LD2508114191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0300 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Text] A parliamentary group to investigate the top command and political members of the armed forces, the KGB, and Ministry of Internal Affairs involvement in the criminal actions of the State Committee on the State of Emergency [SCSE] has been formed in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet. Vladimir Seleznev, deputy chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet Committee for Security, on behalf of the group, has made an appeal to the citizens of Russia in which it is stressed that possible attempts to involve the army, the forces of the KGB, and the Ministry of the Internal Affairs in new political adventures are not being excluded. For the more rapid stabilization of the situation, we need information about persons who have actively supported the criminal SCSE and are continuing to carry out its orders, as well as information about the movements of troops and military equipment that you might have noticed, the appeal said. The parliamentary group is working 24 hours a day and its telephone numbers are 205- 5838 and 205-5995.

Khasbulatov Sees Coup Ties With CPSU, RCP

LD2408140391 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Text] In an interview to a RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY correspondent, Ruslan Khasbulatov, acting Russian Supreme Soviet chairman, noted that we are striving toward a law-based state and therefore everything must be constructed on the basis of the law. The participants in the anti-constitutional plot must bear the deserved punishment, Khasbulatov said. At the same time the destruction of party committees and other structures must not be allowed, although today according to some documents and facts that have become known, it is obvious that the threads of the plot stretch to CPSU and Russian Communist Party [RCP] structures.

Yeltsin Refuses Hero of Soviet Union Award

LD2508115691 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1130 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Text] Today USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev telephoned Russian President Boris Yeltsin and informed him that in accordance with presentations made to the Moscow Soviet, he intends to sign a decree awarding Boris Nikolayevich the title of Hero of the Soviet Union. Yeltsin has categorically rejected this, believing that the victory over the putsch was the victory of the people, and that the heroes were those who were on the barricades.

Incidentally, at 2030 Moscow time today [1730 GMT] Boris Yeltsin will make a television address on television's Second Program—in other words, on the Russian channel.

Rutskoy Details Gorbachev Rescue Operation

LD2308222891

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1735 GMT on 22 August carries a program called "Operation Foros, 21-22 August 1991," with an interview with Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy on the mission to bring USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev back from his dacha at Foros in the Crimea, where Gorbachev had been held during the attempted coup. The interview was conducted in Rutskoy's office by Russian television correspondent Sergey Rybin. Also present was a man identified by Rutskoy as Volodya, the head of his personal guard.

Setting the scene, Rybin said: "Aleksandr Rutskoy, who returned from Foros today, is back at his post, just as he was during the three days and nights when he organized the defense of the House of Soviets. On 19 August, the first to answer his call were Afghanistan veterans. They became the backbone of the defense. On the night of 21 to 22 August, Aleksandr Rutskoy flew to Foros with Russian Prime Minister Ivan Silayev. The plan to free President Gorbachev and his family and arrest the plotters was worked out by Rutskoy. He was also the man who put together the raiding party. This is probably the first case in history when an operation such as Operation Foros involved no bloodshed. This was made possible by the precise organization and the personal courage of all those who went there."

The interview opens with Rutskoy recalling Yeltsin's proposal on Wednesday morning, 21 August, that Yeltsin, should fly to the Crimea to meet Gorbachev.

Rutskoy said that everybody Yeltsin consulted, including Rutskoy himself, Aleksandr Yakovlev, and Gennadiy Burbulis, advised him against going.

"Then, at the Russian Security Council, we decided that, if the Supreme Soviet supported us, we would fly and deal with this matter, the matter of freeing the USSR president and arresting the criminals. We had two plans: One was to arrest them here, in the Kremlin. Then we had another plan, after Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin proposed the initiative. We instructed Ivan Stepanovich Silayev to speak at the Supreme Soviet and ask the Supreme Soviet to grant Ivan Stepanovich and myself the opportunity to fly out and carry out the plan. We did not reveal the plan. You can understand why.

"From the Russian Federation's Interior Ministry, Major General Dunayev, the deputy minister, and Valentin Pavlovich Barannikov, the interior minister, put together two special groups of senior Interior Ministry officers. They wore the uniform of the internal troops. They were trained officers. They put together one group to block Vnukovo-1 Airport and the other to accompany the raiding party with me. When we took off—and there was an attempt by a KGB representative to hold up our TU-134 aircraft—and headed south, to the Crimea, we were only promised landing rights in Simferopol. It takes almost three hours to get to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's dacha from Simferopol, but the group of plotters managed to get there ahead of us."

Asked who reached the dacha ahead of his group, Rutskoy replies: "Yazov flew there and so did Lukyanov, Ivashko, and Vladimir Ivanovich Kryuchkov, and so did the chief of the president's guard, Plekhanov. That group tried; they demanded a meeting with the president. But Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin managed to talk to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev by telephone to urge him not to receive them under any circumstances. Mikhail Sergeyevich was a fine fellow in this regard. He subordinated himself in this case, because the situation was indeed very difficult.

"So, we flew there, and we had three options for freeing the president. The first option was to move to a distance of 10 kilometres from the president's dacha, present the ultimatum, and permit him to meet with the group commissioned by the Supreme Soviet. If, in response to our demand to return the president.... [changes thought] We did not know what condition the president would be in. You can imagine: He had spent all those days in isolation. He might have been given special injections, as is the custom is in this country. His family was there—his grandchildren, his wife, his daughter—well, you can imagine, the whole family. The dacha was completely blocked. Communications and mass media had been cut off. Everything had been totally cut off.

"The second option was to surround the president's dacha and, accordingly, to attempt to get through with the ultimatum. The third option was to take it by storm."

Rutskoy then recalls that each member of his group was offered the chance to pull out, but none of them did.

He continues: "During the approach to Simferopol, I got in touch with Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin and asked him to get in touch with Admiral Chernavin, the commander of the USSR Navy. Boris Nikolayevich asked Chernavin to let us land at Belbek. We were practically over Simferopol when we received permission to land at Belbek. Everything was going as we planned, except that it was now Belbek. We landed at Belbek, got quickly into cars, and set off for the president's dacha. We met no resistance on the way. A militia major tried to stop us at the approach to the dacha, but he apologized to us amicably and told us that we had gone the wrong way and should take the next turn on the right. At the entry we were met by Mikhail Sergeyevich's guards. It was clear from their faces, from the smiles on their faces, that they were on our side. We were invited into the guesthouse, and the command came through that Mikhail Sergeyevich was waiting for us. He had not met any of the other group, but was waiting for us. We went in."

Rutskoy continues: "You know, various conjectures were going around in Russia, including here, among the defenders of the building, along the lines that they had been playing some kind of game under Mikhail Sergeyevich's direction. I will not conceal the fact that there were such thoughts. But when Mikhail Sergeyevich came to meet us with his aide, it was clear from the man's face how sincerely glad he was—just imagine—how sincerely glad he was that the Russians had come to free him. He said: I have specifically not received a single one of those villains. I have waited for you.

"We saw Raisa Maksimovna. You know how bright she normally looks, but when we saw her she looked on the verge of a heart attack—I mean, completely shaken up, a person who had determined for herself what her fate would be. She told me how two days earlier, on 19 August, they had recorded Mikhail Sergeyevich on a tape and had then cut that tape, that cassette, into little pieces, wrapped them in parcels and hidden them, so that if the president should be killed later, the recording would remain. I think that cassette will be shown. We will glue it together. The people must definitely be shown how the president took leave of his people. I tell you, this tape must be historic. It will be clear from the tape, you see, how well aware Mikhail Sergeyevich was of his errors.

"Well, as an officer, I said—there was an attempt to discuss it—I said that I was in charge. Mikhail Sergeyevich agreed, and we worked out the operation. We left. I left earlier and prepared two aircraft—the presidential aircraft and the Russian aircraft on which we had arrived, the TU-134. We, Korovnikov, Kuznetsov, and I went in a traffic police car, a Volga, driven by a sailor. It was Korovnikov and Kuznetsov, one from the internal troops, the other from the KGB, both officers, Volodya, the head of my personal guard, and me. We returned from the president's dacha, having told the president to stay there for the time being. We approached the airfield, and I put everybody at their posts. They were all puzzled and could not understand it. But they recognized me, all the same, because I am a state figure. I told them to be ready for two aircraft to depart, in order to cause confusion. Anything could have been expected. There was a fear to the effect that he must not fly in the presidential airplane, because anything possible could be expected from those blackguards. Mikhail Sergeyevich agreed to use our Russian aircraft. We took Kryuchkov with us, searched him and put him in our aircraft, and we left the others with our group, those of the raiding party, who were to escort Yazov and Lukyanov.

"We flew into Vnukovo-1 Airport. No, I mean we were allowed to land at Vnukovo-2. I had said Vnukovo-1 while in the air. They told us, with the agreed signal, that everything was okay, but we should land at Vnukovo-2, all the same. We landed, I opened the hatch and took a look. I made an arrangement with the pilots. I said: If the whole taxiing area is cordoned off, if they are not on our side, start the engines and we will take off from the taxiing area."

Rutskoy then listed the names of the eight aircraft crew members, "because they are heroes," and of the 32-man raiding party.

On landing at Vnukovo-2, the rescue team was faced with a scene that Kryuchkov described as repellent. Speaking of the officials waiting to greet the aircraft, he states: "Not one of those creatures who came to meet him spoke in his defense, not one of them."

However, some of their own people were there too, including Shakhray, Ivan Stepanovich Zakharov, Barranikov, and Stankevich.

Rutskoy details what occurred after the landing. One member of the team left the aircraft ahead of the others, as planned. If anything was amiss, he was to fire warning shots into the air and the airplane would take off again. Gorbachev was to remain in the aircraft until the order was given for him to leave. Fortunately, everything appeared to be in order and Rutskoy himself deplaned. Rutskoy saw Moiseyev there, and he states that this was painful to see. He recalls having tried to persuade Moiseyev to stop the military operations in Moscow since the beginning of the coup and asking him to take on Yazov's position as defense minister when the latter fell ill, without success.

"This man was standing there to meet him. Bessmertnykh was standing there, the minister of foreign affairs. Where were you? You understand. Did even one of you come out in defense of the USSR president?"

Of the whole government, only Primakov and Bakatin, who were in the airplane with the rescue team, had refused to go along with the conspiracy. Rutskoy singles out Lukyanov in particular for criticism, agreeing that it is quite probable that he was the idealogue behind the coup. Only a day before the rescue he had gone to Lukyanov with an ultimatum and the latter had only been able to come out with a series of excuses about Gorbachev's blood pressure and back pains. When asked why Gorbachev could not have signed a decree on the handover of power, more excuses followed. Criticism then switches to the minister of civil aviation, who gave airplanes to Yazov and Kryuchkov for their flight to Belbek only hours before coming to meet Gorbachev.

In answer to a question about the size of the rescue group, Rutskoy states that there were 36 members. He expresses the hope that the members of the group will be rewarded appropriately by the state.

Rutskoy is asked how the plotters were arrested and whether Kryuchkov resisted. He says: "No. We put Kryuchkov in the airplane. His bodyguards did not even hinder us, but permitted this. They all sat next to him—KGB General Aleksandr Nikolayevich Sterligov. I said to him: Aren't you going to defend him? So we set off. The rescue group in the other airplane was headed by Major General Dunayev of the Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs. You all know him. He is courageous man, and he worked efficiently there. He started to taxi the airplane. They told me about Yazov, and about how he asked: What is this? What is this? "

Rutskoy says they arrived at long last. He thanks all those and the relatives of all of those who helped in the operation to free the country.

Gorbachev on Relations With RSFSR Bodies

LD2608213791 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2020 GMT 26 Aug 91

["Russian Parliamentary Herald" program, presented by Sergey Nosovets, identified by caption as Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic people's deputy]

[Text] [Nosovets] [video shows Nosovets outside the Kremlin] Moscow, the Kremlin, 26 August 1991: The extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which many of us, members of Russia's Supreme Soviet and Russian people's deputies, are present. Here, I am certain, the line will shortly be drawn under this protracted story of the putsch. It is understandable that the whole country is following tensely what is going on in that hall. But we have tried to make use of another opportunity to remind you once again or to help the country's president to state his position once again.

[Begin Nosovets recording] [Video shows Nosovets in a room seated next to Gorbachev] I think it is obvious that the relationship between the Russian parliament, the Russian Government and leadership, and Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, president of the country, has always been fairly complicated. And now, at a time of holding what I would call a joint session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and that of Russia in your presence, it seems to me very important to note that finally there is a serious common language between yourself and the

Russian leadership, the Russian parliament. What do you think? How interesting and effective are the prospects for a close relationship between yourself and the leadership of Russia and its parliament?

[Gorbachev] You are correct in saying that there is a history to this relationship. It is not a simple one, just as life is not simple, nor the stages of life that have been proceeding in our country these years in the context of profound changes. I would not say that I have any complex concerning Russia. I am from Russia myself, and I have grown up and lived and worked here, and this is...[pauses] to my mind, this is a clear matter. But the fact that we are proceeding along the course of profound changes, here differences arise, or have arisen; deep differences, misunderstandings have arisen, sometimes even political battles. But I must say that this never prevented me from seeing—and this was always in my field of vision—that Russia is a unifying factor. For this reason, the situation in Russia, Russia's health, Russia's life and the condition of the peoples of Russia, of the Russian people, are very important. Therefore, all the same, regarding what has been happening recently—and this is not happening just today—I think we can already speak of a certain stage in the development of cooperation which is going on between Union bodies—well, we will not say that it is with all Union bodies, or with all republican bodies, but nevertheless, it is there, it exists. I single out this sector of coperation, which is already partnership, which is developing into joint action and coordination, with Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, Ivan Stepanovich Silayev, Ruslan Imranovich Khasbulatov and other comrades who are working in the Russian team, let us put it that way. It is today becoming different, constructive, fruitful and promising, and I think this is very important. As for future prospects, we must cooperate now, especially. People must know this, in Russia and the Soviet Union, and I regard it as my duty to do everything to ensure that this happens.

[Nosovets] Mikhail Sergeyevich, this question might be difficult, to a certain extent, but we have just been in the hall where the session is in progress, and sitting there are, unfortunately, to my bitter regret, quite a lot of deputies who were preparing to put the legislative seal on the whole coup today, the 26th, if its organizers had been victorious. Sitting in the hall, and knowing those people very well from their numerous attacks on you, what did you feel as you sat in the hall?

[Gorbachev] You know, let me put it this way. I am a person who—at least that is how I think of myself, and have the right to think so—is inclined in my assessments and in my decision making—and now we are faced with making very serious assessments and making very important decisions—we need to be as free from emotions as possible. That is a luxury the president of the USSR cannot afford; neither can the Supreme Soviet nor any others. So, I said that the USSR Supreme Soviet has a week until the congress. Let them meet in commissions, and in the chambers, and having gathered together, let them assess everything, weigh everything, remember everything, and determine their own position. And so, I would not now indiscriminately... [changes thought] the Supreme Soviet. I think that the Supreme Soviet, if it had been assembled, would have stood in the way.

[Nosovets] But it was not even assembled.

[Gorbachev] But it was not assembled. There you have it. Now, the reason why it was not assembled—that's where the main responsibility lies. Evidently there needs to be, as I have already said, a mechanism, constitutionally or legally established, so that in a state of emergency, a people's deputy, no matter where he is, should be here within a day, 24 to 36 hours.

[Nosovets] Just as we rushed immediately to our House of Soviets.

[Gorbachev] Yes, that is what I said. The Supreme Soviet did not do what the Russian Parliament did. Perhaps it was confused by the telegram that it would be on the 26th, and so on. So, the Supreme Soviet faces serious, responsible and uncompromising debate, assessments and conclusions, and I hope that this will be carried out. I know many of them, and this allows me to hope that the Supreme Soviet will be on top of this situation. That is very important.

[Nosovets] Mikhail Sergeyevich, yet another question, a question that is also probably quite straightforward for you. After all, it is obvious....

[Gorbachev interrupts] There are no straightforward questions for me at the moment. I am receiving them now, as you can see, but I am ready to give answers sincerely and with full responsibility because I have thought over a great deal during this period.

[Nosovets] Thank you. Ruslan Imranovich Khasbulatov noted, in my view, most accurately, that only the center of the conspiracy has been removed. But I imagine our enormous country—and even my own national-territorial constituency has 31 rural rayons—and I know already that....

[Gorbachev interrupts] Which is that?

[Nosovets] Tomsk Oblast. I already know that the first secretaries of the raykoms, who are primarily also chairmen of rayon soviets as well, supported the putsch organizers and appealed to the people to support those people. How are you, as president, no doubt along with the Russian leadership—forgive me—simply going to root out these lairs?

[Gorbachev] You know, I hope that communists and, not to leave the working people on one side, will regard my statement with understanding, my statement in which I said that the structures that first and foremost cooperated should all the more so be disbanded. Communists should determine their position themselves, determine their position. And I think...[pauses] I use this phrase especially, because we do not simply need to swing swords to make heads roll. People, communists, the working people, need to determine for themselves whom they need to lead them. But as far these party structures are concerned, in fact, they...[changes thought] I think I have already issued a decree saying that all party property is to be put under guard and handed over to the soviets. This is a necessary step. This does not mean that we—you can see that I am using this stereotype—are launching a witch hunt. No, people are still people, after all, and many have worked honestly. But those who have sullied it, those who embarked on collaboration, those who have encouraged people, they should be made answerable. I think that this process will proceed democratically, in fact.

[Nosovets] My last question: What is the main thing you expect from the USSR Supreme Soviet session, what should be the main result of its work?

[Gorbachev] I think the most important thing for us now is that we solve the question of power; I include here the structures, the ones that one can still...[pauses] that have potential within them. They must really start working and show what they are worth. We need new structures; they must be created. And the third thing is cadres. That, when it comes down to it, is for me the greatest tragedy of my personal drama. I repeat this, because I am deeply disturbed that there proved to be people alongside me who deceived people, and decieved me, and compromised the power that, in fact, was formed as part of the processes of perestroyka. But, you know, this is confirmation that perestroyka has arrived at a phase where we are entering a new life. They showed themselves; they had to show themselves, but to embark on such an adventure...[pauses] to speak frankly, it doesn't take much imagination to foresee the end of that adventure, and if they did embark on it, it just goes to show what great mistakes I made in selecting cadres. What a lesson! [end recording]

Deputy 'Close' to Yeltsin on Gorbachev Future

LD2508205591 Paris Antenne-2 Television Network in French 1800 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Just a while ago Corinne Perthuis, our correspondent in Moscow, met a Russian deputy who is very close to Boris Yeltsin. Her first question concerned how he sees Gorbachev's future.

[Begin recording] [M. Ambarstunov, identified by caption] (?He would act) as a guarantor of the preservation of the Union in a certain form, so that the Union does not immediately split apart, although the prospects are somewhat cloudy, so I think Yeltsin is interested in having Gorbachev fulfill his duties, at least during a period of transition.

[Perthuis] As for Boris Yeltsin, does he already have power in his hands, and what kind of regime is he going to establish?

[Ambarstunov] I would say, I would call this regime an authoritarian democratic regime; in other words, Yeltsin's power as a president would be vast. In addition he is going to control the regions by means of the governors, or one would perhaps say in French by means of prefects, appointed if not by the emperor [laughs], then at least by Boris the First or the Second [as heard]. Then he has trust, this popular support, this popular consensus, which is essential in his position. [end recording]

Russian TV Views Responsibility for Coup

LD2308211691 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1930 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Excerpts] The people are now celebrating the victory. We have come through these days of resolution, despair, anger, and hope. We vanquished the Bolshevist putsch. The triumphant people are not only far from returning to the days of the mutiny, but we will not allow the situation to return to what it was on 18 August, the day before the coup.

The coup was in preparation for a long time. Apparently, the plot had its first beginnings last fall. At that time, the top communist echelon still considered Gorbachev to be ineffective, but at least their own man. [video shows Gorbachev at meetings, various officials conversing]

The democrats frightened Gorbachev with categorical demands and by the fragmentation and fussiness of minipoliticians and miniparties. Gorbachev feared leaving the CPSU and depending solely on the democrats. He evidently hoped to control the beast from the inside and to use it for perestroyka. This was brilliant from the point of view of maintaining short-term stability, but naive from the point of view of carrying out real reforms. Incidentally, the majority of reforms were carried out not because of Gorbachev's actions, but rather his inaction. Gorbachev was engaged in balancing, in seeking compromises. He did not interfere in events and always, in all conflicts, supported the victors. Where were General Rodionov who perpetrated the carnage in Tbilisi, the feeble Ryzhkov, and the innocent fledglings who sat beneath his wings—Kryuchkov, Pugo, and Yazov—after the collapse of the economy and the crimes in the Baltics? Did Gorbachev condemn them? Was it not based on their advice that he promoted Yanayev, a vice president with the habits of an ordinary drunkard? Who made Gorbachev choose the economics expert Pavlov? Who forced Gorbachev to abuse so-called democrats during his trip to Belorussia?

It was Gorbachev and no one else who was in charge when Yazov, Kryuchkov, and Pugo rehearsed the seizure of Moscow on 28 March and, as it was explained, during the training and stockpiling of equipment in the capital and around it. Why did Gorbachev defend the demands of his friend Anatoliy Lukyanov at Novo-Ogarevo?

Try to answer this far-from-complete list of questions and then answer whether Gorbachev is to blame for the coup. He went on balancing too long, and the day came when his comrades-in-arms decided that they could manage without him. Back in the spring, some members of the junta and their agents carried out reconnoitering trips around the country. In various regions they sounded out people in power and their moods and noted reliable people. D-Day was not specified; it was a moral preparation that was under way. Beginnign in the spring, the country's top leaders permitted themselves to speak methodically against Gorbachev's policy of signing the Union treaty and of transforming the CPSU from a semisecret and semimilitary system into just a party. Gorbachev began to criticize the conservatives. They calmly swallowed the pill and behaved suspiciously quietly at the July plenum. They were getting ready.

The State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR texts that made you gasp on the morning of 19 August were distributed at the end of last week. D-Day had arrived. [passage omitted]

Who among us did not wish to stop the clock, push the button to halt this nightmare? Were there some who did not want to do that, who looked at the screen, smiled slyly, and rubbed their hands? There were. Of course there were, and quite a lot of them. We address our words to the others, to those who did not lose their good sense, those who equate arbitrariness and lies with death. There are many millions of us. [passage omitted] [video shows clips of coup scenes]

As soon as it was clear that the threat of the putsch had passed, a multitude of new problems arose. It is clear that the mutiny did not start from nothing. It is even strange that the right-wingers for so long tolerated Yeltsin, the democrats, and the timid, as they saw it, Gorbachev. What is the political situation today? The right-wingers have lost only a few of their leaders. They are demoralized and are waiting for the victors to decide their fate. We have proved to them that at this stage a military coup in Russia is impossible. Nonetheless, they still have in their hands the gigantic military-industrial complex, half the size of the country. They continue to head the Army. The Army is ashamed of its participation in the mutiny. Tomorrow, the feeling of shame will pass, but the weapons will remain, as will their unsettled families living in hostels. Their children will remain at poor garrison schools. As is known, it is the communists who run this Army. We cannot have any mutual understanding with them. They have their party conscience while we have laws and the Constitution. How will they command the people with weapons?

The KGB has not disappeared either. Kryuchkov is not a renegade. There are many people within the KGB,who think like him, so you can remain calm if the communist Kryuchkov is shot. Toda,y the KGB men are lying low and are afraid, but they will restore their moral balance quicker than other people. Many of them are already regretting that they did not drown the opposition in blood. They lay the blame for their failure not on the opposition of the people, but on the poor organization of the incompetent leaders. If only they had been entrusted with it. They will be entrusted with it. They will, without doubt, be entrusted with it later, if we do not disperse them now.

In the militia the top posts are still held by portly gentlemen who formerly worked in the CPSU Central Committee. They take their instructions from old friends and old bosses from the communists' chief headquarters, even though you may argue about how to interpret the laws. [video shows clips from "Vremya", shot of Kravchenko]

You learned about the coup from broadcasts on television, on Central television. The newspapers did not come that morning. Television prepared for the putsch in advance. At least several hours before the announcement of the state of emergency, Comrade Kravchenko explained to his party colleagues what to do and how. It was precisely Kravchenko who was entrusted by the junta bosses with shutting down Russian television. Only the oblast centers remained working independently. Among the things they broadcast was "Vesti" from the underground. The putschists' ideological special purpose militia detachments under the leadership of Kravchenko were entrusted with taking control of them, too. No one would entrust Leonid Petrovich with 20 kopecks now, let alone television. There will be a new chairman. He should not be a man from CPSU Headquarters. Why doesn't Russia, with its 150 million population, have a television center, while all the technical equipment and communications were immediately ready for the mutineers? The editorial and printing base of the majority of newspapers continues to belong to the CPSU. [video shows clips of party officials in luxurious surroundings]

What should be done with the CPSU itself? The Bolshevist junta did not consist simply of communists, but of high-ranking, pampered members of the communist nomenklatura. They drove Shevardnadze, Rutskoy, and Yakovlev from the party, but they did not announce even the lightest party punishment for the junta plotters. Ivashko kept silent until the day the mutiny failed, and even then he did not draw the organizational conclusions. [video shows clip of Lukyanov]

Who saw any of the leaders of the CPSU and high-ranking communists among those who defended Soviet power in Russia? Today they are amongst the chief denouncers. Lukyanov was in no hurry to convene the USSR Supreme Soviet. His statement that the Union treaty is no good was one of the justifications for the junta's actions. Anatoliy Ivanovich waited. Well, could he in reality protest and demand legality, for could he not share the fate of Gorbachev if the junta remained in power? Now he wishes to share our victory. We no longer trust him, but Mikhail Sergeyich might forgive him.

During the whole time that the CPSU was in power everyone knew that the Ukraine and Kazakhstan were out in the provinces as far as politics were concerned. In recent months opinions changed. Kravchuk and Nazarbayev became interesting politicians. People began to listen to them. But then came the coup. Where were Kravchuk and Nazarbayev? It was only later that they expressed support for Yeltsin. We thank them, of course. Evidently, they feared bringing harm to their republics. They weighed everything carefully, but they proved once again that their policies are deeply provincial. This is not meant to be an insult, but as a statement.

Thus, there are many problems. We have proved our ability to smash the junta. It is possible that we will be able to punish and smash the vipers nests of the putsch. We are able to unite against something. Will we be able to unite in favor of something? Or will be like before? Yeltsin wants one thing and the local leaders want something. Mikhail Sergeyevich will reconcile everyone. As a result, everyone will be angry with him. In the Union parliament, the mortal remains of ancient deputies from public organizations puff out their cheeks and vote. In the Russian congress, the democrats will squabble and the communist ideologists, without lowering their eyes, announce that their party is the ruling party.

Meanwhile, the economy collapses. You will spend more time seeking foodstuffs and clothing and you will tell your children about Russian cooking from pictures in a book. Surely now, after our victory, everything will not remain the same. Surely, they will not drown our victory in talk. Gorbachev has thanked us. What now? Will he slap us on the back and send us home until the next mutiny until we are needed again? Or will reforms finally begin? That is what we fought for.

Supreme Soviet on State of Emergency

91UN2497D Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Aug 91 p 2

["Decree of the Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet: 'On the Emergency Situation That Arose in the RSFSR as a Result of the Attempted Coup d'Etat'"—ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA headline]

[Text] An attempt at a coup d'etat was made. The president of the USSR, who is also the commander in chief of the USSR Armed Forces, was removed from his position; and the vice president of the USSR, the prime minister, the chairman of the USSR KGB, the ministers of defense and of internal affairs joined in an unconstitutional organ, thereby committing a state crime. As a result of these actions, the activity of the lawfully elected executive authority of the USSR was paralyzed.

An extremely tense and explosive situation arose in the Russian Federation. The first blood has already been spilled, substantial material damage has been caused, and one crime has led to another even more grave and irreversible.

The RSFSR Supreme Soviet decrees:

1. To support the actions of the RSFSR president in the defense of the constitutional structure, and to recognize the RSFSR president's ukases Nos. 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 67, and 68 as in effect on the entire territory of the RSFSR from the moment of their signing by the president of the RSFSR.

2. Stop the activity of the unconstitutional State Committee for the Emergency Situation. All decisions of this committee will be considered invalid on the entire territory of the RSFSR from the moment of their adoption.

3. Immediately free USSR President M.S. Gorbachev and ensure conditions for his execution of constitutional duties.

4. Cancel all restrictions on the activity of the mass media on RSFSR territory.

5. The RSFSR Procuracy will examine the question of instituting criminal proceedings for the commitment of state crimes by citizens of the RSFSR who are on committees for the emergency situation as well as officials who supported the unconstitutional activity of these committees.

6. To establish that actions of RSFSR citizens and collectives of enterprises on RSFSR territory in any nonviolent forms in support of the legally elected organs of authority and offices of the RSFSR for the defense of the constitutional structure are legal. Any kinds of attempts to charge them with criminal, administrative, or other responsibility is PROHIBITED.

7. For the purpose of ensuring the effective activity of the department of security of the acting chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet and the security services of the president of the RSFSR and the vice president of the RSFSR, employees of the indicated subunits are granted the right to employ all types of firearms, with the right to bear and store them. In addition, the chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet and the president of the RSFSR can specify the circle of persons who have the right to bear, store, and employ all types of firearms.

Deputy Wants USSR Supreme Soviet To Dissolve

LD2608004291

[Editorial Report] Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian at 1650 GMT on 25 August carries a four-minute interview with Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] People's Deputy Oleg Germanovich, who says: "We intend to go to the USSR Supreme Soviet tomorrow" and demand that it dissolve itself. He says USSR Supreme Soviet deputies have no moral right to remain deputies and "bear the lofty title of representative democracy."

Rumyantsev continues: "Today there will not remain a vacuum after the dissolution of this body, which is incapable of acting." Gorbachev and Yeltsin must become the main Union center, which can take on itself in this extraordinary situation the matter of destiny; their administration must rely on the parliaments of the republics. The USSR Supreme Soviet should not be reelected, but a special consituent assembly should be elected whose task will be preparation and adoption of the Union Treaty or the Union Constitution. "This is the strategy, in my view, for a democratic way out of the current extraordinary situation."

He adds: "I was very alarmed by the decision by the Ukrainian parliament. I am very alarmed by the outrage that is being perpetrated in Azerbaijan. And when in actual fact such a Vendee [uprising] is being created, which is aimed against the victory of democracy that has been achieved, we cannot remain unconcerned. Thus, I do not agree with the fact that the Interregional Group adopted a fairly soft and flexible position today. The tough line of saving the country must be continued now."

"The Russian parliament is in a very resolute mood. We categorically disagree with the fact that Khasbulatov made the decision that our next session will take place on 19 September. I believe that this decision is wrong." When the Russian parliament continues to sit in this extraordinary situation, we will be able to bring influence to bear on the Union parliament, and the USSR Supreme Soviet will not be able to claim that if they dissolve themselves there will be a vacuum.

Supreme Soviet Adopts Prerevolutionary Flag

LD2408220191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 24 Aug 91

["Text" of Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic government decree signed by Ivan Silayev, chairman of the Council of Ministers]

[Text] Guided by the decisions of the extraordinary session of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet, on 21 August 1991, and those of the RSFSR president, the historic flag of Russia is to be considered the state flag of the RSFSR. This flag consists of three horizontal stripes of equal size, the upper one of which is white, the middle blue, and the lower red. The ratio between the width and length of the flag is 1:2.

The state flag is to be raised on buildings where sessions of kray, oblast, okrug, rayon, town, village, and settlement soviets of people's deputies are being held for the duration of the session. It is to fly permanently above offices of executive committees of kray, oblast, okrug, rayon, town, village, and settlement soviets of people's deputies. On holidays and commemorative dates, it is to be hoisted above the buildings of ministries, state committees, departments, and other state and public bodies, enterprises, institutions and organizations, and also apartment buildings. It is to fly on the buildings and vehicles of RSFSR diplomatic missions and consular establishments, on sea-going ships and river vessels, and other forms of transport on which the RSFSR president, the RSFSR vice president, the chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, the chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, or other officials representing the RSFSR Supreme Soviet and the RSFSR Council of Ministers are traveling in an official capacity. The state flag of the RSFSR may also be hoisted at ceremonies and other formal events being held by state and public organizations.

Irrespective of size, the state flag of the RSFSR must always conform precisely to the description given above. Persons guilty of defacing the state flag of the RSFSR will be held liable in accordance with the legislation of the RSFSR.

This information is being forwarded for implementation by central and local bodies of state power and administration in the RSFSR and also for publication in the mass media. At the present time the aforementioned state flag of the RSFSR is flying in the city of Moscow above the residence of the RSFSR president in the Kremlin and the headquarters of the RSFSR parliament.

[Signed] Ivan Silayev, chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers

Supreme Soviet Treatment of Gorbachev Assailed

PM2708091291 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Aug 91 Union Edition p 2

[I. Karpenko and G. Shipitko commentary: "How the President Answered to Russian Deputies"]

[Text] USSR President M.S. Gorbachev met with Russian parliamentary deputies 23 August in the House of the Soviets. This was the head of state's first meeting with the people's chosen representatives, who spent 90 minutes trying to elucidate M.S. Gorbachev's attitude to everything that has happened, to our society's future.

Everyone was able to see the head of state speaking on television and everyone probably may have their own opinion of the events that happened in front of millions of people. Quite obviously, however, no one would dispute the fact that the president was forced to answer to the Russian parliament, to every one of us for the abortive putsch, the coup d'etat.

Gorbachev's address to the deputies dispelled once and for all the illusory hope that the president was indeed master of the situation within a day of his release from captivity in Foros. What he said was too obviously at odds, not only with what was happening in the Russian Supreme Soviet building, but also outside.

Most of us already regarded as indisputable, long before today or yesterday, the conclusion drawn by the head of state when analyzing the situation: "Everything must change: the authorities, the federation, the economy, the attitude toward ownership, and man's position."

Another of the president's postulates was also indisputable: "A powerful regrouping of political forces is needed."

You can understand the state of a man who experienced, during the alarming 72 hours of the coup, not only a personal tragedy—the tragedy of his team's treachery—but also the total collapse of the system that took him to the top of the pyramid of supreme power in the country, a system whose resistance he was conscious of in his every move toward democracy, toward the reformist transformation of our society. You can also understand his attempts to find weak links between the previous political structure and the new democratic one. You cannot otherwise explain his initial appointment to leadership posts of people who had to be dismissed from them immediately, under pressure of the obvious fact of their direct or indirect involvement in the plot, people with whose tacit consent the new junta could operate so overtly and cynically.

Certainly, we heard the USSR president saying that his team's treachery was a "most painful calamity." But what conclusions can we draw from the lesson that proved tragic for both him and our entire society? That is perhaps the main question to which everyone would like an answer—a clear, unequivocal answer. His attempt to disagree with the accusations leveled at the CPSU, however, immediately encountered incomprehension. After all, it is known that both the CPSU Central Committee and its regional committees mostly backed, in practice, the actions taken by the State Committee for the State of Emergency. And their belated dissociation from them once the coupists had been routed only persuaded us all once again of the role that the party apparatus would have played had those plans been accomplished, just like the apparatus of the administrative-edict system. Many or most of us were probably disappointed, to put it mildly, at not receiving a precise and clear answer from M.S. Gorbachev to specific questions and an unequivocal—as we are now accustomed to saying—assessment of the situation. Here it was clear and obvious to everyone that the country's president lost out in terms of openness and honesty to the Russian president's stance.

That is all true. But the way in which deputies—and sometimes even B.N. Yeltsin himself—treated the USSR president frequently jarred on us. Why was it necessary to force M.S. Gorbachev, who had still not gotten over the shock, to read out like a naughty schoolboy the text of a statement accusing the members of his team of treachery? Or to demand that he declare every Communist a criminal? It is not only a matter of form, it is also a matter of essence. There in the hall, the president was immediately faced with the demand that he approve immediate punitive measures and establish Russia's claim to the main key posts in the future Union structure of state power. Could Gorbachev afford to accept these ultimatums, supplanting the judge and prosecutor's office, or else failing to obtain the other republics' consent, however great Russia's services in the current victory for democracy? He could not, he simply did not have the right, if he considered himself president of a democratic rule-of-law state. Democracy "inside out" differs little from the coupists diktat.

In a situation where the main obstacles have been removed—the center in its familiar, previous form and the omnipotence of the administrative-edict system and the partocracy—are we entitled to adopt rash decisions that might even to the slightest degree provide an excuse for fresh conflicts and confrontation when concluding the Union Treaty?

We must make maximum use of the opportunity that we have been given as a result of these tragic events. However little time we have to extricate the country from the economic, political, and moral crisis, these problems must still be resolved calmly and in a well-considered manner and resolved by democratic methods and by those structures of authority to which this right is entrusted by the law and the Constitution.

Yugin Reviews Media, Praises Foreign Journalists

LD2408043391 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1635 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Remarks by Viktor Alekseyevich Yugin, chairman of the Committee for Glasnost and Mass Media, at the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet session in Moscow on 21 August—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Yugin] [passage omitted] Now, about mass media. We have just heard it, it has been said at the third microphone, that television so to speak... that nothing is decided with the television. At this very moment, a direct relay of this meeting is taking place through the Orbita satellite system to the regions of Siberia and the Far East. Around 1800, a direct relay, sorry, not a direct relay, but a recorded version without any cuts, will be shown for the European region. Tomorrow the proceedings of our meeting will be repeated on All-Union television. The question of Russian TV and Radio Rossii appearance on the air, possible appearance, tomorrow has been decided by 80 percent.

Now, the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic] Ministry of Communications has put a lot of work into this. Starting from 1100, Radio Rossii could be heard in Arkhangelsk, Murmansk, Petrozavodsk, Komi, Kirov, Volgograd. From 1200 on, in Novosibirsk, Krasnoyarsk, Irkutsk, Tyumen, southern Sakhalin. From 1600, the question of the transmitter in Elektrostal and Ekho Rossii [Russia's Echo—untraced] was resolved. Here, the Russian Federation's Committee for State Security helped us. Out of nine powerful radio transmitters, seven are working at the moment. Out of 42 million radio receivers, 30 million are getting our reports and our information.

The Committee for Mass Media, as well as myself and all the people whom I managed to contact over these days, support fully and completely the proposal made by the Russian Federation president on nationalization of the mass media, radio, and TV situated on the territory of the Russian Federation. [passage omitted]

One more thing. Since the junta gave the communist newspapers a free hand to publish lies and disinformation in these hard days, I have the following proposal, and I hope you will support it: to ban, by a decree of the President of Russia, the publishing of those newspapers on the territory of the Russian Federation. [applause] The last point....

[Ruslan Khasbulatov, interrupting] I am sorry, but why by a presidential decree? Why are we giving it all over to the president? Why not by a resolution of the Supreme Soviet?

[Yugin] Well, this would be even better.

[Khasbulatov] What do you mean even better? This would be more correct.

[Yugin] One more thing. These days, the 11th floor of this White House has beccome a real international brigade of journalists. Foreign journalists, foreign mass media stayed here during those hours and minutes when we had everything cut off; and only through receivers, listening to Radio Liberty, BBC, and CNN could our citizens learn something honest, open, and objective. Therefore, I would like, on behalf of the Supreme Soviet session and each deputy sitting here, to express our enormous gratitude to our foreign journalists. Thank you for your attention. [applause]

Supreme Soviet Scheduled To Meet 19 Sep

LD2208154491 Moscow TASS in English 1519 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 22 TASS—The following announcement by the press service of the presidium of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet was released here today:

"On August 22 at the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic] House of Soviets, under chairmanship of Acting Chairman of RSFSR Supreme Soviet Ruslan Khasbulatov, the presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet held a meeting.

A decision was taken to convene the next session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet on September 19 in Moscow.

Issues connected with giving evaluation of the activity of heads of local soviets of people's deputies in the period of the state coup were discussed.

Other issues of the state life of the Russian Federation were considered at the meeting."

Kozyrev Meets Baker, Eyskens in Brussels

PM2308145991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Aug 91 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Meeting with U.S. Secretary of State"]

[Text] Brussels, 22—After participating in the NATO Council session which was held here, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker met Wednesday [21 August] with RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Foreign Minister A. Kozyrev who is on a brief visit to the Belgian capital. They analyzed the initial results of events connected with the failed attempt at a coup d'etat in the USSR.

During the talks, which A. Kozyrev described as "fruitful," questions on developing links between the United States and the RSFSR were also discussed. At the same time, it was noted that Washington and Moscow must stand as allies in the matter of defending democracy.

The head of Russia's foreign policy department also met with Belgian Foreign Minister Mark Eyskens.

Russian Trade Unions Protest Coup Attempt

LD2108173491 Moscow TASS in English 1623 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Moscow TASS in English at 1631 GMT on 21 August transmits a service message killing the following item]

[Text] Moscow August 21 TASS—"The Council of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia enters a strong protest against anti-constitutional methods of solving contradictions that have piled up in society," says a statement of an extraordinary plenary meeting of the Council of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia held here today.

"A path toward civil peace and concord can be found only along a legal democratic way, will of the people, functioning of constitutional power bodies and a broad dialogue with all public and political forces."

Describing the situation in the Soviet Union during the past two days, meeting participants stated that "a coup d'etat has been staged in the country.

"The president has been denied an opportunity to fulfil his duties, an unconstitutional body of state authority and control has been formed. A state of emergency has been introduced on illegal basis. Military formations have been involved. The signing of the union treaty has been postponed."

In this connection, the plenary meeting pointed to the need to immediately convene an extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies to restore the constitutional order in the country and continue the formation of a new union of sovereign states in accordance with the people's will expressed during the referendum, of March 1991.

Democratic Russia Postpones 26 Aug Rally

LD2508212691 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Text] [Newsreader Yevgeniya Kondratyeva] Speaking on the first television program on Friday 23 August, USSR People's Deputy Ilya Zaslavskiy announced that a meeting would be held on Manezhnaya Square on Monday 26 August, under the slogan "This Must Not Happen Again." Ilya Zaslavskiy has just telephoned us to say that given the present situation in the city, after consultation with the Democratic Russia leaders, it has been decided to postpone the meeting in order to give the Union parliament the chance to start its work in a calm situation. The coordinating council of the Moscow city organization of the Democratic Russia movement reserves the right to organize a meeting later, in the event that the course of the USSR Supreme Soviet session shows that it is necessary to demonstrate the Muscovites' stand to the members of the country's parliament.

Council Chairman Silayev Blames 'Traitors'

PM2308145391 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 23 Aug 91 p 4

[A. Korzun and K. Belyaninov report: "'He Kissed Us...' Interview With Ivan Silayev"]

[Text] We were sitting in an empty snack bar on the sixth floor of the "White House." Outside, the parliament's defenders were making a joyful noise: It was already known that representatives of the Russian Government had returned to Moscow.

Suddenly the door opened and a small group of people entered the snack bar. Among them was Ivan Silayev, chairman of the Russian Council of Ministers, who had just arrived from Vnukovo-2 and was saying something gripping.

So, quite unexpectedly, we were the first parliamentary journalists to have a mini-interview with the Russian premier after his "mission of liberation."

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Ivan Stepanovich, what feeling have you brought away with you from the last few hours....

[Voice from entourage: "No interviews!"]

Silayev, turning to his entourage:

[Silayev] No, no, no! Let me tell them—people have, after all, been sitting here all night....

I have not felt so delighted and, I would say, inspired and triumphant for a long time.

From the outset we worked out what was happening and immediately realized that this was a coup, a right-wing coup. We were not afraid of repressions although we already knew what lay in store for us. Then came the Appeal to the Citizens of Russia. We presented the head of the USSR Supreme Soviet, who had already betrayed his president, with an ultimatum. Others had also betrayed him: Not only as statesmen but also as his working colleagues.

We are delighted that Russians and Muscovites backed us. It was only due to our Muscovites' and our citizens' commitment to the Russian cause and to Russia that the tanks and assault detachments did not get through. Needless to say, we were defenseless. But we were securely protected by a wall of Russians, a wall of Muscovites. We think that it would be a matter of a few days. I, in particular, was sure that it would be a matter of a few days.

I knew these traitors. They are small-minded people, but I did not know that they are vile.

I cannot say that the latest nocturnal events mark the end of it. There may still be some reverberations, although the big fish have been localized. And they must bear responsibility. Not only for treason, but also for the lives of those Muscovites, Russian patriots who shed their blood....

I cordially thank you, you were with us, you were at the forefront. But let us display vigilance a little longer. I think that in two or three days it will be possible to dismantle the barricades rather than setting them up, to clear the streets and squares.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Ivan Stepanovich, how did President Gorbachev greet you in Foros?

[Silayev] He embraced and kissed us....

Bans Economics Ministry Activiities

LD2508085291 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 0700 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Text] Silayev, chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers, has signed a resolution banning the activities of the USSR Ministry of Economics and Forecasting on RSFSR territory. The document establishes that the RSFSR Ministry of Economy is the central state body of the government of the Russian Federation for elaborating, coordinating, and implementing economic policy on the territory of the RSFSR. All the material and technical resources of the USSR Ministry of Economics and Forecasting and also all the network of scientific-research organizations on the Republic's territory as of 1 August this year, is transferred to the jurisdiction of the RSFSR Ministry of Economy. This ministry is instructed to consider the question of employment for the employees of the former USSR Ministry of Economics and Forecasting.

Issues Decree on New Ministry

LD2408204891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2001 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Text] [no dateline as received]—

RSFSR [Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic] Council of Ministers Resolution No 440, 24 August 1991, Moscow

On Measures for Forming a System of Material and Technical Provision on RSFSR Territory

To implement Decree No. 74 of the RSFSR president "On Strengthening the Bodies of Material and Technical Provision of the RSFSR" of 18 August 1991, the RSFSR Council of Ministers resolves:

1. To ban the activities of the USSR Ministry of Material Resources on the territory of the RSFSR;

2. The USSR Ministry of Material Resources is instructed to transfer all the material and technical resources of the Ministry, as of 1 August 1991, situated on the territory of the RSFSR, to the jurisdiction of the RSFSR State Committee for Material and Technical Provision of Republican and Regional Programs;

3. The RSFSR Ministry of Economy, RSFSR Ministry of Agriculture and Food, RSFSR Ministry of Trade and RSFSR State Committee for Material and Technical Provision of Republican and Regional Programs are instructed to complete, by 1 October 1991, the drafting of a program for material and technical provision of the RSFSR national economy for the year 1992;

4. The RSFSR Ministry of Economy and RSFSR State Committee for Material and Technical Provision of the Republican and Regional Programs are instructed to provide the conclusion of treaties for 1992 on mutual deliveries of products, in accordance with interrepublican economic agreements.

5. The RSFSR State Committee for Material and Technical Provision of Republican and Regional Programs is instructed to consider the question of employment for the employees of the USSR Ministry of Material Resources.

[Signed] I. Silayev, RSFSR Council of Ministers chairman

Praises Vologda Newspaper

LD2508094191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 24 Aug 91

[From the press review]

[Text] Finally, one more report, and a pleasant one for me. The 100th edition of RUSSKIY SEVER, the newspaper of the oblast soviet, came out in Vologda today. It contains a message of thanks from Ivan Silayev, chairman of Russia's Council of Ministers, in which he writes, in particular: During the black days of the coup d'etat, the journalists of RUSSKIY SEVER and the oblast's radio and television displayed civic courage, integrity and dignity in performing their professional duty.

I congratulate my colleagues, and with this, I conclude the press review.

Russian Prosecutor Interrogates Lukyanov

PM2508191491 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Aug 91 Union Edition p 1

[Report by V. Rudnev incorporating interviews with Russian General Prosecutor Valentin Stepankov before and after his visit to the Kremlin to interrogate Anatoliy Lukyanov: "Investigation Into the Case of the State Committee for the State of Emergency: Lukyanov Interrogated in the Kremlin"—date not given]

[Text] Valentin Pavlov, former USSR prime minister, and Vasiliy Starodubtsev, chairman of the USSR Peasants' Union, have been interrogated and arrested. An intensive search is under way for Yuriy Prokofyev, first secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom [city committee], who is evading the investigation. Valentin Stepankov, RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] general prosecutor, went to the Kremlin to interrogate Anatoliy Lukyanov.

A brief interview with Russia's general prosecutor on his way to the Kremlin:

[V. Rudnev] Valentin Georgiyevich, after its stonewalling defense in the first days of the putsch, the Russian Prosecutor's Office has gone onto the offensive. Your raid on Vnukovo-2 airport, where you arrested Yazov, Kryuchkov, and Tizyakov, was a surprise not only to them, but apparently also to your colleagues from the USSR Prosecutor's Office. What next?

[Valentin Stepankov] Next the investigation. Do not imagine that the investigation will go smoothly. Apart from the large volume of work, we face another problem now, too. The investigation is basically being carried out by two operational investigations groups: a Russian one and a Union one. Yeltsin's proposal to concentrate the leadership of the investigation into the case against the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency] entirely in the hands of the Russian Prosecutor's Office was rejected by USSR General Prosecutor Trubin. But I cannot hand over our materials to the charge of the Union Prosecutor's Office. I do not trust them. Their position in the first days of the putsch is well known. At 1730 on 19 August a government telegram was sent out to the localities, signed by acting USSR General Prosecutor Vasilyev. If you cut out all the verbiage, what it boils down to is the fulfillment of SCSE decisions. And one of the first instructions given by USSR General Prosecutor Trubin on his return from abroad was a reminder on the banning of political strikes. And that was at a time when the masses' political activeness was the most effective weapon against the putschists.

[Rudnev] We have no right, of course, to ask about the content of the interrogations of the arrested putschists. But how are they behaving, are they repentant?

[Stepankov] It varies. Yazov is conducting himself courageously, like a soldier. When I informed him of his arrest, he stated with military brevity: Understood. He is embarrassed to ask the guards for cigarettes. Kryuchkov is talkative, he is even putting on airs. Pavlov is, I think, being frank. At least, his words to the effect that he was not expecting such a rapid end to the SCSE suggest that.

The initial investigation materials suggest that **the actual composition of the SCSE leadership was considerably wider than was declared on 19 August**.

[Rudnev] Why did you not summon Lukyanov to the Russian Prosecutor's Office, instead of going to the Kremlin yourself?

[Stepankov] Anatoliy Ivanovich said he was busy with state affairs. He says he is preparing for the forthcoming USSR Supreme Soviet session. Moreover he asked to be allowed to stay in the Kremlin because it is not ruled out that he may be invited to see Gorbachev. [Stepankov ends]

The Russian general prosecutor's comments after his return from the Kremlin:

[Stepankov] Lukyanov categorically rejected suspicions that he is the organizer of the plot against the state, the USSR president, and the people. He stated that he did not share the views of the SCSE members and did not support their activity, and he gave his own assessment of the events under investigation and spoke about the reasons and grounds for the putsch.

We did not ask any questions to clarify Lukyanov's position. But I told him straight that his testimony is at variance with evidence at our disposal, including the testimony of SCSE members. I warned Lukyanov to be ready for further interrogations and for confrontations with the conspirators.

[Rudnev] Are you not afraid that Lukyanov will hinder the Russian investigators from his Kremlin office?

[Stepankov] There are no such fears as yet. No one is obstructing us or putting pressure on us. [Stepankov ends]

The USSR Prosecutor's Office has informed us that V. Grushko, first deputy chairman of the USSR KGB, has been detained. Colonel General V. Achalov, RSFSR People's Deputy and USSR deputy defense minister, has been interrogated. Marshal of the Soviet Union S. Akhromeyev, adviser to the USSR president and member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Defense and State Security, has committed suicide.

Comments on Coup Investigation

LD2708101891

[Editorial Report] Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian at 1914 GMT on 26 August carries an 11-minute interview with Valentin Georgiyevich Stepankov, procurator general of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR], given to reporter Anatoliy Fedorov on 26 August. Stepankov outlines the wide-ranging investigations surrounding the proceedings he instigated six days ago against Yanayev, Pavlov, and other members of the so-called State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR (SCSE).

Stepankov prefaces his remarks by saying: "The case has turned out to be very peculiar. Procuracy personnel do not have enough experience to investigate a case of this category. Apart from this, we started to operate under the conditions of a most complex and extreme situation.

"I should note that the devotion of personnel of the Russian procuracy and officers of the Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs made it possible for us, on the night of 21 to 22 August, to carry out the main arrests. Both I and the leaders of Russia felt that it would have been impermissible for Kryuchkov and Yazov, having returned from Foros, to again find themselves in their offices in those organizations that were party to the attempt to completely betray our constitutional order in the country and in Russia."

He goes on to describe the establishement of the investigative group and the work involved in gathering evidence, including searches of apartments, dachas, and offices; the study of seized documents; the establishment of a range of witnesses and other individuals party to the crime; and the definition of the stages of the investigation.

Of the latter, he says: "It has to be said that the investigation has to take in fairly broad layers of the leadership, and will touch, in part, upon deputies of the USSR and Russian deputies, mainly Russian deputies who are in some kind of Union structures. The case is being simultaneously studied with us by the USSR procuracy. I should say that a plan has already been drawn up and developed. Those areas in which the investigation will proceed have already been determined. As far as is permitted, we will inform the public and the mass media".

In response to a question from Fedorov on when and how the plot was hatched, Stepankov speculates on the different reasons that prompted the plotters to take the actions they did, such as dissatisfaction with Gorbachev's policy, his absence from Moscow, the impending signing of the Union treaty, the state of the economy, and unresolved social problems. He says that "only the investigation and the court will show the role of those held responsible."

Fedorov asks: "Without anticipating the events and the end of the investigation and the actions of an upright and constitutional court, there is another, similar issue: You have interrogated Anatoliy Lukyanov. What can be said today about his involvement or noninvolvement in the coup attempt and in all these events?"

Stepankov replies: "I think that the first interrogation, which was held in my presence by Shchukin, the investigator for important cases of the Russian procuracy, does not yet provide the answers to all these questions. In this interrogation, we set ourself the goal of giving Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov the opportunity to speak of those events in which he was a participant, and about his personal role. This interrogation was constructed in the form of a free narrative, with our amplifications. In this interrogation we did not make use of those investigative materials that we have in our possession in order either to establish guilt or to seek to remove contradictions that arose in the course of this conversation, of this interrogation.

"At the end of it, Anatoliy Lukyanov was told that the investigation will continue, and that his next meetings with the investigator would be held soon. It has not been ruled out that confrontations of suspects, including himself and others involved in this crime, will be held, perhaps in the near future. It is from these investigations that the roles, including his role, will be determined in specific detail."

Stepankov goes on to stress the need for a throughly objective approach in the investigations. As far as legal measures such as undertakings not to leave are concerned, such measures are applied to individuals who have been accused or are under suspicion. So far, Lukyanov has been questioned as a witness. His leadership of the Supreme Soviet is being assessed at the current session.

Stepankov says: "The path that lies ahead of us is a petition to the Supreme Soviet for consent to his being brought to criminal account, since he enjoys the status of a USSR people's deputy."

Fedorov asks: "How are those under investigation behaving? I know that some of the so-called SCSE are under your jurisdiction, or to be more precise, are in your remand cells, including Yazov, Kryuchkov, and Yanayev, and that others are under the jurisdiction of the Union procuracy. It is clear that your investigation is being conducted jointly according to the decree by USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. How are those under investigation behaving?"

Stepankov responds: "I have to say that the investigation has not been conducted jointly. The investigation has been conducted in parallel. An end was put to this on Sunday evening. The criminal case with regard to all events of the plot has been transferred to the Russian procuracy. The investigative group, united now, is headed by (Yevgeniy Kuzmich Lisev), deputy procurator general of Russia. I and a specially created group of procurators, which will be subordinate not to the investigators but to me, will effect supervision over the progress of the investigation. The confrontation ends here. All those under under investigation are now under our jurisdiction."

Stepankov continues: "This morning I held a meeting with the investigators of the USSR procuracy investigative group. We found not only a common language and mutual understanding of this situation, but as of this morning a general plan for joint action has been in the process of elaboration. This is a united investigative group subordinate to the deputy procurator general of Russia.

"In general, those under investigation are behaving, well, in the way every person under investigation behaves. They have been provided with lawyers. All their interrogations are conducted with the involvement of lawyers, at least those who wanted lawyers. I think only one or two said that at this stage they will do without the assistance of lawyers. With the exception of Baklanov, perhaps, all the others are giving evidence and are taking an active part in the work of the investigation.

"There have been certain dificulties with Baklanov. He made counter demands, but not related to the infringement of any of his rights. It is just that there have been efforts to cause him to be inclined to provide candid evidence on his role. This work is continuing. In general, the others have volunteered their evidence."

Fedorov asks what can be said about the suicides of Kruchina, Akhromeyev, and Pugo.

Stepankov responds: "All three individuals named were on the lists of citizens whom we would have invited to give evidence. Pugo killed himself after his arrest had already been sanctioned. With regard to Marshal Akhromeyev and Kruchina, a Central Committee official, actions by the procuracy such as the sanctioning of arrest were not applied. Apart from this, Kruchina was not on the list, but might have appeared among those for whom we have a primary interest. I think that within the scope of this case, an investigation will be conducted into the cause of these suicides to evaluate them. The course of the investigation itself will show whether there is anything on the conscience of these people that prompted them to such a tragic act.

"We did not call for either Akhromeyev or Kruchina. As for any guilt on our part, that we were in some way able to push them to make such a fateful decision for themselves, we do not perceive ourselves as being guilty."

Fedorov asks: "All the same, I will ask a mundane question that people are asking. In the searches, have valuables, money, weapons, or frozen Western bank accounts been found? Has there been any of that sort of thing?"

Stepankov answers: "Over and above that which might provoke the curiosity of our population, nothing has been found. The materials necessary for the investigation to reveal the truth are being discovered. Proceeding from the secrecy of the investigation, I cannot answer this question in more detail, of course".

Fedorov then asks a question that concerns "many honest staff" of the All-Union Television and Broadcasting Company, including the fate of their former chief, Leonid Kravchenko. Will any legal measures be taken against him? Stepankov confirms that the role of the mass media will be investigated and that Kravchenko "is also on our lists for invitation and for the giving of evidence."

Fedorov asks about Yuriy Prokofyev, former secretary of the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU. Stepankov responds: "I think that in order to speak about his role, we have to interrogate him. He is avoiding investigation, and is not appearing. I was even forced, through the newspaper IZVESTIYA, to give him such an invitation, not to draw this out, and to seek to avoid investigation."

Fedorov asks whether he is hiding. Stepankov replies: "This meeting will be held all the same. I think that it is in his interests for it to be held as soon as possible."

Moscow Mayor Interviewed on Coup Attempt

LD2608013391 Moscow TASS in English 2128 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 25 TASS—"The coup d'etat stage on August 19 was not a chance action but a natural process," Moscow Mayor Gavriil Popov said in a Soviet television interview today.

He thinks that the grave situation in the agricultural sector of the economy, the military-industrial complex and the Army had played not the least role. Many of those who occupied high posts in these structures realized that they will not be able to stay in their offices in the present-day conditions, Popov said.

One cannot regard the participants in the putsch as naive people because in implementing their goals they shrewdly took into account disagreements both in the democratic movement and between individual republics. On the whole, the plotters had long since ripened to act openly against the democratic gains and the prospect of signing the Union Treaty only prodded them towards this action, Popov emphasized.

Describing the actions of the capital's leaders during the putsch, Popov stressed that two forces—Muscovites' initiative and the well-coordinated work of the city authorities expertly combined to contribute to the success of the efforts to put down the coup.

Popov pointed to several measures necessary to rule out such situations, among them reorganising the municipal security agencies and mass media. Popov said a decision was made to set up a National Guard in Moscow.

Supreme Soviet Celebrations Reported

LD2208224191 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 2300 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] Nurlan Urazbayev of our staff spent the whole Wednesday at the Russian parliament following the dramatic developments and what many here see as the failure of the coup d'etat. This is what he reported at the end of the day:

[Urazbayev] I'm standing on the balcony of the Russian Federation Building. This building is called the White House now and is the official residence of the Russian parliament in Moscow. It's about nine pm in Moscow and people, there are thousands of people here, it's very hard to say how many people are really here, but all the square around the White House and all the nearby streets are really flooded with people. They are holding a rally to celebrate the end of the coup d'etat.

A few hours ago, the session of the Russian parliament, the extraordinary session of the Russian parliament, took place here acknowledging this victory and plans, it is making some plans for future. [sentence as heard] Also, today the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR held its meeting and the participants of this meeting passed a resolution of condemnation of coup-makers. They also acknowledged that this coup was illegitimate.

According to some unconfirmed reports, the coup-makers have left the city and very shortly it will be known where they are and they will face an official investigation.

The troops that are subordinate to Moscow military commandant are leaving the city, but there is some information that some Interior troops and KGB troops are still in town. The decision about them will be taken very shortly as a result of talks between the Russian parliament and the all-Union Government.

One thing is clear that today we are seeing an almost completed victory of the democratic forces and the reformist forces in the Soviet Union. Fears, readiness to resist, expectations of the worst have been replaced by celebrations.

The immediate outcome of this coup is that is has brought together all the supporters of democracy and profound reform in the Soviet Union and it has also shown that the plotters gravely underestimated the reaction of the people, and of course the Western reaction.

They hoped that they could intimidate the people, that they could fool the people and take the power because they didn't want to lose the privileges or what remain of their privileges as a result of democratic reform, but they made a very grave mistake. People have really changed over the past six years and this event has shown this.

And it has just been announced that the prosecutor general has started criminal proceedings to investigate into the criminal deeds of the coup-makers, and I will continue - one thing which is very encouraging is that for the first time in the past six years the young people have not been passive, just witnessing this event. I told you that there are thousands of people here and about 80 percent of the people are very young. Those are young faces, very beautiful faces that are actively taking part in everything that is taking place here, helping to defend. They have been helping to defend this building. They are helping to bring food. They are helping to organize the crowds and things like that, which is, I repeat, very encouraging.

And it looks like the democratic revolution in the Soviet Union very rapidly is acquiring the shape and the pace of revolutions in Eastern Europe. I have talked to many people and many people's deputies here at the Russian parliament and they all say that it is almost certain that, as a result of this victory, the Union Government of the parliament, the Union Government and the parliament of the USSR, will be reelected because they did not resist the coup and they did nothing when the coup was in the making. And it is expected that within the next few days the session of the Union, the all-Union Supreme Soviet will take place. And it is also expected that the new Union treaty that will reshape the structure of the Soviet Union in favor of democracy and will give a lot more power to the republics, the signing of this Union treaty, new Union treaty, will take place very soon. This Union treaty was about to be signed on Tuesday, but it didn't happen because of the coup.

The legitimate president of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev, is about to return to Moscow and speak to the people. Meanwhile, celebration is continuing near the White House, the residence of the Russian parliament in Moscow. And famous singers, stand-up comedians, actors have been performing here before the people. There's a lot of laughter, relief, happiness, and - although people were asked not to relax a lot because some outbreaks of residual resistance are not to be excluded at this point. I think people will stay here for at least two more days and nights. And you can hear some noises here. This is people. People are working to reinforce the barricades.

I consider that one thing is for sure. This day will go down in history and will have the same significance as the break down of the Berlin Wall. This is Nurlan Urazbayev reporting about the celebrations around the White House the official residence of the Russian parliament in Moscow.

Military District Confirms Division Withdrawal

PM2108183791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Aug 91 Union Edition p 6

[Report by N. Burbyga: "Troops Leaving Moscow?"]

[Text] The armored personnel carriers of the illustrious Taman Division had been on Pushkin Square, by the IZVESTIYA editorial office building, for three days. But then, on the morning of 21 August, the combat vehicles started to form up in route column.

"It's all over," Senior Lieutenant Oleg Skobeyev, commander of the motorized infantry subunit, snapped out to his men. "Put yourselves in order. We are returning to camp."

"What? Is the division withdrawing from Moscow?" the capital's inhabitants surrounding the military vehicles began to ask.

"Yes, we are pulling out," the officer replied wearily. He added: "Again the Army has been set up [podstavlen]. I am ashamed of everything."

To check out the truth of this information, we telephoned the Moscow Military District Headquarters Our call was taken by Lieutenant General Leonid Zolotov, chief of staff of the district. We related our conversation with the officer to him.

"Well, I'm pleased for our officers," the general replied.

The information that the Taman Division is withdrawing from Moscow was confirmed by Colonel General N. Kalinin, commander of the Moscow Military District.

Soldier Describes Defense of Russian Parliament

LD2308140391 Moscow TASS in English 1139 GMT 23 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent R. Zadunaiskiy]

[Text] Moscow August 23 TASS—Crowds of people were loath to leave the square in front of the Russian Parliament building long after the rally was over on Thursday. Tired people who defended the Russian parliament during the coup smiled into cameras standing on the barricades they had built. Numerous reporters were after those who commanded the volunteer militia, "hunting" for snapshots and comment.

Captain-Lieutenant Nenashev was in the focus of attention: he was with those who arrived at the Russian Parliament on the morning of August 19 and helped build the first barricades. Within hours, Nenashev was a recognised leader of the volunteer militia, winning people's sympathy with his active role in the arrangements, courage, wit and skills.

"For me, resistance began last spring," Nenashev, a political worker in the armed forces who graduated from the Higher Naval Political School in Kiev, said. "In spring, when I was a student at a military academy, I refused to take part in cordoning off the Third Extraordinary Congress of Russian People's Deputies. For that, I was dismissed from the academy and sent to the Northern Fleet.

"The armed forces of this country are a complex public organism. There are people of differing views and convictions there, including stark conservatives even among lieutenants. But most servicemen are democratically-minded. They are devoted to the people. Because of this soldiers and officers who were summoned to Moscow were fed on lies. I know that for sure as I talked with soldiers directly upon their arrival here. When they learned the truth, the military openly proclaimed their support for the people, as for instance, the tank unit commanded by Major Yevdokimov.

"Some career officers volunteered to defend the Russian Parliament building as well. Afghan war veterans were on the barricades on the memorable night of August 20 and the early morning of August 21, when tanks and armoured personnel carriers were trying to make their way to the parliament building. The veterans set an example of courage to all the others among the burning vehicles and roaring tanks. The assault was rebuffed but one of the Afghan war veterans, 23-year-old Dmitriy Komar, was crushed to death by an attacking tank.

"The events of these past days made clear once again the need to remove party committees from the armed forces. The army service the people, the motherland. It must not be swayed by the influence of parties and public movements. This will help avert similar events in the future.

"This will also make people more sincere and open. They will not be afraid to speak the truth".

PRAVDA Official: Paper's Closure 'Illegal'

LD2408215291 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Interview with PRAVDA Senior Secretary Cherynak by unidentified correspondent in PRAVDA office; date not given; from the "Vesti" newscast—live or recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] What is your opinion of Yeltsin's decree?

[Chernyak] I consider the decree illegal. What's the result? Formerly there was one party; now that party is being closed and others are not being allowed to speak. According to the law on the press, we print the documents that come in to us from the official sources, and bear no responsibility for this.

[Announcer] They knew nothing and saw nothing. Well, a legal assessment of the actions of these publications during the coup d'etat will be made by the RSFSR procurator's office.

Information Minister on Paper's Future

PM2508150991 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 24 Aug 91 p 2

[I. Sichka report on statement by M. Poltoranin, Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic minister of press and information, under general heading: "If Newspapers Are Being Closed Down, It Means That Power Is Changing Again"; place and date not given: "Minister's Commentary"]

[Text] In connection with the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] president's decree suspending publication of PRAVDA and other newspapers and the PRAVDA Publishing House collective's decision [requesting "leased enterprise" status], we asked Mikhail Poltoranin, RSFSR minister of press and information, for his comment.

"Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin's decree talks about nationalization of all printing facilities on Russia's territory. As regards the PRAVDA Publishing House specifically, we believe that it should not remain a state enterprise after the nationalization but should eventually become a people's enterprise. A joint stock company would be the most acceptable form to achieve this. The way to it may lead through a leased enterprise.

"KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA is already a corporate entity and constitutes part of this publishing house. Eventually, if the newspaper collective so desires, it could join this company and become one of its owners with full rights.

"We do not wish to see this publishing house or any other printing capacities engaging in politics. We wish all publishing houses to operate as, figuratively speaking, a stage for performances by various artists. And you in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA will be both builders of this stage and its co-owners."

Press Minister Supports TASS Privatization

LD2508214491 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1800 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Text] Mikhail Poltoranin, RSFSR minister of press and mass information, has backed the plan, put forward by an initiative group of the board of the TASS journalist organization and representatives of a number of TASS subdivisions, for a fundamental reform of the country's press agency. The essence of the plan consists in transforming TASS from a state organization into an independent information agency and in handing it over to the ownership of the labor collective. A general meeting of the TASS collective planned to set up a provisional elective body, an inaugurating council, to which all the powers of the agency's collegium are being transferred. At a meeting with the representatives of the initiative group today, Poltoranin emphasized that this scheme coincides in general with the aims set by RSFSR President Yeltsin and the instructions of the Russian Council of Ministers to carry out a reorganization of TASS.

We completely back the idea of replacing the old management structure with a new, democratically selected one, with the handover of all powers, Poltoranin noted. TASS must become an independent structure guided by the law alone, in particular the law on the press, and nothing else, he stressed. No parties or government groupings must exert any pressure upon TASS.

The minister commented in particular that TASS employees need not worry. While the reform is being drawn up and carried out, the collective of the agency may fully count on the help and support of the RSFSR Government, including upon the maintenance of the present system and the levels of state financing.

It was also pointed out, however, that the Russian Government expects TASS staff to get moving quickly, and hopes that the agency will be able to become a joint-stock company relatively soon.

TASS, NOVOSTI Reorganization

LD2608081191 Moscow TASS in English 0737 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 26 TASS—Russian Minister of the Mass Media and Information Mikhail Poltoranin has supported a plan for the reorganisation of TASS proposed by its initiative group last week.

The plan envisages converting TASS from a state-run organisation into an independent news agency to be owned by its employees. Under the plan TASS's collegium will be replaced by a constituting council to be elected at the meeting of TASS employees.

Poltoranin told the initiative group that the plan practically coincides with Russian President Boris Yeltsin's instructions to the Russian Council of Ministers to reorganise TASS.

"We fully support the idea to replace TASS's old managerial structure by a new, democratically elected one, which will assume all powers. We know not all journalists have stepped over their fear but having gained independence and freedom, they will open up their potential and no one will ever dare to stifle them," Poltoranin said.

"TASS should become an independent structure guided only by law, including the law on the press, and nothing else. Neither parties, groupings nor the government should put pressure on TASS. TASS should not be ruined, and the Russian Government together with you is ready to fix this lopsided structure. Lets together create the "fourth power", which along with the existing third one—judicial—will become a guarantor of freedom to prevent any putsch," Poltoranin said.

The minister stressed that during the reorganisation TASS can fully count on the Russian Government's assistance and support, including the preservation of the current system and amount of state subsidies. "You won't have to beg any more," Poltoranin said.

He noted, however, the Russian Government expects TASS to act promptly to convert itself into a joint stock company. He stressed TASS should base its relations with the federal and republican governments and other state structures, only on a contract basis. He said there won't be any control over TASS, since no one will own more than 15 per cent of its shares.

TASS should have its own declaration and charter to ensure its independence and protection from outside pressure. Internal problems, including the reduction of the blotted administration, should be resolved by TASS itself, Poltoranin said.

He promised TASS help from experts and support of Russian authorities, saying they have similar plans for reorganising the NOVOSTI news agency "to give you an opponent".

Commenting on Yeltsin's decrees on the mass media, he said they aim "not at moving from one monopoly to another, but at demonopolising them to begin solving this problem envisaged by the law on the press".

'Honest' Professional for TV Chief Urged

LD2608032191 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 25 Aug 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] As we know, the staff of another CPSU organ, though not a formal one, is setting its hopes for justification upon the same thing; namely Central Television, which incidentally has been for the third day absolutely without any leadership. And since these 72 hours during which Gorbachev was not in control of the so-called black bag containing the codes for the nuclear launch facilities, since these 72 hours ended happily, thank God, then the Central Television propaganda machine could burst more powerfully than any bomb.

We are therefore all waiting impatiently to see what decision the president will make in regard to television, and we hope that it will be headed by a professional, an honest man unsullied during the recent putsch. We wish Mikhail Sergeyevich to take a closer look at the faces of the candidates, so as not to repeat the mistakes of his first hasty assessments following his liberation.

Popov Closes City CP, Democratic Party Offices

PM2508125691 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Aug 91 p 1

["Directive on the Suspension of the Activity of CPSU and LDPSU [Liberal Democratic Party of the Soviet Union] Organizations in Moscow City, Which Gave Assistance to the Putschists in Organizing the Coup d'Etat"—ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA headline]

[Text] In view of the participation by a number of leaders of the CPSU's Moscow Gorkom [city committee] and its rayon organizations, as well as LDPSU [Liberal Democratic Party of the Soviet Union] organizations, in unlawful, unconstitutional activity which helped the putschists to organize the coup d'etat, in accordance with the decision of the Moscow Soviet session 22 August 1991:

1. Provisionally, until the completion of the investigation, with the participation of the commission formed by Moscow Soviet, into the degree of involvement by CPSU and LDPSU organizations in the putschists' implementation of the coup d'etat 19 August 1991, as of 22 August the activity is suspended of Moscow CPSU Gorkom (from 1630), the CPSU's rayon organizations (from 1730), and LDPSU organizations (from 1730).

2. The city internal affairs administration (Comrade N.S. Myrikov) is to seal all official buildings and premises occupied by the Moscow CPSU Gorkom, CPSU raykoms [rayon committees], and LDPSU organizations, and take them under guard.

3. From 1700 22 August 1991 the Moscow City telephone network (Comrade V.N. Komarov) is to cut off telephone equipment, and the Committee for Power Generation (Comrade B.A. Rekk) is to cut of electric lighting in the premises of administrative buildings of Moscow CPSU Gorkom, CPSU raykoms, and LDPSU organizations.

4. The USSR KGB leadership is instructed to cut off from 1700 hours 22 August 1991 the ATS-1 [Automatic Telephone Station-1] and ATS-2 government communications installed in the premises of administrative buildings of Moscow CPSU Gorkom and CPSU raykoms.

5. Comrade G.I. Skaredov, Moscow Transport Prosecutor, is requested to provide a legal assessment of the activity of Comrade Dubchenko, chief of the Moscow subway, who, on his own authority, changed the subway's work schedule 20 August 1991.

[Signed] G.Kh. Popov, mayor of Moscow

[Dated] 22 August 1991

Speaks on 'Heated' Atmosphere

PM2508121891 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Aug 91 p 1

[Unattributed report: "All Is Not Quiet in Moscow"]

[Text] Speaking at an emergency session of Moscow City Soviet, Gavriil Popov noted that by the morning of 23 August the atmosphere in Moscow had become somewhat heated. To confirm his words, the mayor of the capital referred to rallies and demonstrations that had arisen spontaneously in front of the Union KGB and MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] buildings. G. Popov again declared the need for departyization of the Army, security and internal affairs organs, state institutions, and the mass media.

Answering questions from Moscow City Soviet deputies on the actions of Army units of the Moscow Military District 19-21 August, Lieutenant General A. Golovnev, first deputy commander of the district, said, in part: "Being Army officers and remaining loyal to our military oath, we were obliged to submit to the orders of Yazov, who at that time held the post of USSR defense minister."

Moscow Soviet Discusses Coup Consequences

LD2408074791 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1000 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Text] Today at an extraordinary session of the Moscow soviet, a decision was made on measures to eliminate the consequences of the attempted state coup. The Moscow soviet made a proposal to the Russian parliament on establishing republican state awards for civil courage. It is proposed that administrations of enterprises, institutions, and organizations should not consider absence from work on 19, 20, 21, and 22 August in connection with the fulfillment of ones civil duty as absenteeism, and should decide to pay the wages of all participants in these events from the budgets of the enterprise, institution, or organization.

The day of the funerals of those who died during the defense of the Russian parliament has been declared a city-wide day of mourning. Memorial plaques will be erected at the place of their deaths. The Moscow soviet has instructed the mayor to pay for the funerals from the city budget and give material help of at least 50,000 rubles to the families of dead.

Popov Notes Investigation Start

PM2508133491 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Aug 91 Union Edition p 6

[Report by V. Belikov: "Mayor's Office Implements Moscow City Soviet Decision: Moscow City Soviet Emergency Session Continued Work 23 August"]

[Text] Friday morning's session opened with a report by the capital's Mayor G. Popov. He spoke about the actions taken by the city administration in the 24 hours since the session adopted the decision "On Measures To Overcome the Consequences of the Attempted Coup d'Etat."

To ensure objective investigation and the preservation of materials, documents, and other papers that could constitute evidence of the commission of unlawful acts, the mayor's office gave instructions that the premises of the CPSU Gorkom [city committee] and CPSU raykoms [rayon committees] in the capital be sealed. As you know, the session gave its consent for the city prosecutor's office to bring criminal proceedings against Yu. Prokofyev, Moscow City Soviet people's deputy and first secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom, who is suspected of giving direct assistance to the putschists.

The mayor reported that the leaders of certain of the capital's rayispolkoms [rayon soviet executive committees] are protesting against the sealing of CPSU raykom premises and hindering the operations of law enforcement organs. He proposed that the session adopt an additional decision making it incumbent on leaders of local authorities personally to vouch for the noninvolvement of the rayon party apparatus in conspiratorial activity. If, after the raykoms' documents have been studied, such noninvolvement is not confirmed, the rayispolkom in question should be disbanded.

At the same time, G. Popov stressed that no important piece of paper must be allowed to be lost. The calls being made in some parts of the capital to "destroy the raykoms" and "storm the headquarters of the partocracy and the KGB" are useful and necessary only to "informers" who hope in this way to destroy the evidence of their reports. This is confirmed by the entire experience of events of recent years in Eastern Europe.

The head of Moscow's executive power also proposed to supplement the work of the investigative commissions that are investigating the circumstances and specific actions of officials and social associations who committed unconstitutional actions with a special Moscow City Soviet deputies' commission. The composition of the commission was approved by the session.

Moscow Commission To Probe Officials' Activities

LD2308183791 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 23 Aug 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast—read by announcer Svetlana Sorokina]

[Text] A commission has been set up in the Moscow Oblast Soviet to investigate the activities of officials during the putsch. A Moscow Soviet session has given its agreement for the Moscow Procuracy Office to bring criminal charges against Deputy Prokofyev, first secretary of Moscow City CPSU Committee.

Investigates 'Anti-Constitutional Acts'

LD2708060691 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1600 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] The Moscow Soviet commission investigating anti-constitutional acts by officials of public associations [obshchestvennykh obyedineniy] has commenced work. It consists of 23 Moscow Soviet deputies representing various groupings, political trends, and deputies' groups. The commission has declared that its activities will strictly adhere to the law. This means that any persecution on account of one's beliefs or affiliation to any organization is completely excluded. Only specific acts of specific persons will be investigated. The commission's principal aim is to facilitate removal of all circumstances in which an attempted coup d'etat might be feasible.

Sobchak on 'Civic Accord,' Leningrad's Role

PM2708085491 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Aug 91 Union Edition p 4

[Report on news conference by Leningrad Mayor A. Sobchak with foreign and domestic reporters in the Mariinskiy Palace on 21 August, by correspondent Ye. Solomenko: "How Things Were in Leningrad. Anatoliy Sobchak Tells the Story"]

[Text] Leningrad—On the morning of 21 August I had to go through two barricades before reaching the Mariinskiy Palace—the residence of the Leningrad City Soviet and the mayor's office. At the entrance to the building, before I reached the militia checkpoint, I was asked for my documents by three young guys—volunteers guarding the legitimate Leningrad authorities. Those are two small touches, a small flavor of the moral and political atmosphere in Leningrad over the past few days and nights.

So then, the Mariinskiy Palace, and Mayor A. Sobchak of Leningrad was talking with Soviet and foreign reporters.

[Unidentified reporter] Anatoliy Aleksandrovich, when you appeared on TV on day one of the coup, you stated that there was essentially no state of emergency in Leningrad—contrary to all the putschists' orders. On the night of 21 August you and the Leningrad City Soviet leaders were forced to appeal to Leningraders to come to the Mariinskiy Palace to protect the city's legitimate authorities, if necessary. Just what was the situation in Peter's city during those days?

[Sobchak] On the first alarming days we organized full contact with the leadership of the Leningrad Military District and local state security organs. General A. Kurkov, chief of the Leningrad KGB Directorate, reaffirmed his loyalty and that of all KGB subunits, services, and officials on the territory of Leningrad and Leningrad Oblast to the laws of Russia and the Union and to the legally elected presidents of Russia and the country.

On orders from the Russian president, Rear Admiral V. Shcherbakov, deputy mayor of Leningrad, was appointed the main military chief on the territory of Leningrad and Leningrad Oblast and personal representative of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] president and the Russian Committee for Defense Issues.

We did not aim to transfer any military units to Shcherbakov's command: That would have meant initiating clashes between different military units. Our task was to prevent the use of servicemen against the people and to ensure the loyalty of military district, KGB, and MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] troops. We completely succeeded in this.

The mayor's office and the Leningrad City Soviet quickly set up a staff to coordinate the actions of all military units, formations, and subunits. We had experienced military leaders and admirals on this staff—V. Shcherbakov, V. Khramtsov, and Hero of the Soviet Union Ye. Chernov, one of our most famous naval leaders. I was profoundly touched when Vice Admiral Chernov, together with his son—a nuclear submarine commander—came and said that they were at the complete disposal of the mayor's office and were prepared to do everything necessary to rebuff the mutineers.

There were quite a lot of statements of that sort from servicemen. In particular, the entire faculty of fortification from one of Leningrad's military colleges visited us and suggested a plan indicating how to block off roads leading to the city.

Fortunately, such measures were not needed. Leningrad was the only major center in the country where troops were not sent in. There has not been a single incident or clash in the Palmyra of the North. Even the crime situation has improved somewhat. And we are doing everything to ensure that Leningrad remains a place without bloodshed or casualties.

The main thing, of course, is not road blocks or barricades. I think that the main thing is that we managed to counter the threat of civil war—we achieved civic consensus. When 120,000 people gathered in Palace Square to say "no" to the plotters, I felt that these 120,00 people were living and breathing as one, that they were one big person—Leningrad, Saint Petersburg.

The plotters had two options. The first was to try, if only retrospectively, to gain legal confirmation for their actions through a USSR Supreme Soviet session—relying on the conservative nature of a large number of the Soviet's deputies. In that event the putschists could have emerged from the situation more or less honorably (if that concept can be applied to these people). The second option was violence.

From the military standpoint, they would have had no difficulty in coping with the Russian leadership—or with the Leningrad City Soviet and the mayor's office in our city. And I am sure that some of the plotters were insisting on precisely this strong-arm approach. Why wasn't it taken?

I think that the mutineers had to abandon these plans under the influence of the massive rallies and demonstrations attended by many hundreds of thousands of people in Moscow, Leningrad, Sverdlovsk, Chelyabinsk.... The self-styled rulers were scared by the almost universal civic accord—by the fact that the overwhelming majority of the country's regions had stated their support for the Russian leadership and the unacceptability of the orders issued by the so-called State Committee for the State of Emergency.

But civic accord is a very delicate matter—it can be destroyed by one false move. That is why I stated that autonomous workers' militia groups should not be set up in rayons and at enterprises. Their actions could have exacerbated the situation in the city and provoked conflicts and clashes.

The fact that I issued an order setting up workers' groups and detachments at enterprises, which would maintain permanent contact between labor collectives and the city leadership and, if necessary, encourage their collectives to help Leningrad's legitimate authorities, is another matter.

On the night of 20 August, at the most critical time, I spent a few hours at the "Kirovskiy Zavod." Because there had been reports that some Spetsnaz [special forces] subunits had left their quarters. They could have cut off our communications and seized the Mariinskiy Palace within minutes. Visiting the Kirov workers, we did the necessary work to ensure that the plant could be called on if necessary.

[Unidentified reporter] You have mentioned the two options facing the plotters. They were forced to reject violence. How did you prevent their taking the second option?

[Sobchak] I have taken measures to convene in Leningrad on 24 August all USSR people's deputies representing territorial and national territorial districts and social organizations from the Baltic republics and the oblasts and republics of northwest Russia. I have personally held talks with the leaders of all these republics and oblasts, and they have all confirmed that they agree with the holding of this meeting. The initiative was also supported by Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin.

Thus, we are hoping that around 400 USSR people's deputies will come to Leningrad to discuss the situation and attempt to work out a united position for the session of the country's Supreme Soviet. I see our main task as being to transform this session into an extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies and to adopt a decision declaring the State Committee for the State of Emergency illegal and removing from their posts all those who took part in the attempted coup. But, whatever decision we arrive at, I believe that the very fact that this meeting is being held in Leningrad will be of great stabilizing importance. [Sobchak ends]

On my way to work early this morning I passed the oblast soviet building, the main water pumping station, the Higher Military Engineering Construction College, the Central Artillery Course building, and the "Big House"—headquarters of the Leningrad Main Administration for Internal Affairs and the Leningrad KGB Administration. All around was quiet. It seems that the city itself is quiet—for the first time this week.

Incidentally, for the Leningrad staff organizing the fight against the consequences of the coup d'etat, tonight will continue to be part of the "working day."

Sobchak, FRG Officials Hold News Conference

LD2208222991 Moscow TASS in English 1648 GMT 22 Aug 91

[by TASS correspondents Irina Zolotareva and Lyudmila Eomicheva]

[Text] Moscow August 22 TASS—A news conference by Leningrad Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak started unusually today. Immediately after Sobchak welcomed Soviet and foreign journalists, FRG consul general in Leningrad Honning von Wistinghausen appeared in the hall and asked to take the floor.

He read out a telegram from the chairman of the German bundestag Rita Sussmut, in which she expressed gratitude and support for the city leadership and Leningraders, who defended democracy and perestroika in those disturbing days.

Then Anatoliy Sobchak said that Leningrad lives and works as usual and there are grounds to believe that the material damage inflicted these days will be offset as soon as possible. The common struggle against putschists has brought people together. The mayor cited as an example the statement by leaders of Baltic republics who said they would resume supplies of foodstuffs to Leningrad and meet in full their obligations. Hamburg's city Mayor Honning Foscherau also offered the city aid.

"We are grateful to friends for support and will not conceal that we urgently need their support," Sobchak said. He emphasised that Soviet people began to believe in their own strength and drew many conclusions for themselves in those days. The Leningrad mayor stressed the need to speed up the process of privatisation and denationalization in the current situation.

Sobchak's 22 Aug News Conference Reported

PM2308153991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Aug 91 Second Edition p 3

[By correspondent N. Volynskiy: "A. Sobchak: 'I Am Against Anticommunist Hysteria'"]

[Text] Leningrad, 22 Aug—City Mayor A. Sobchak gave a lengthy news conference to Soviet and foreign journalists in the Mariinskiy Palace this morning. He said that life in the city had practically returned to normal. The mayor also reported that he had received assurances from Latvian, Lithuanian, and Estonian leaders that the Baltic republics would honor their obligations to supply Leningrad with food. A. Sobchak noted a speeding up in the process of destatization and privatization, creating propitious conditions for private entrepreneurs' activities, as well as "abolishing the CPSU as a state structure" as being among the primary tasks confronting Leningrad's leadership.

This definition of the CPSU did not seem entirely clear, for there has not been any party leadership of state organs and the economy since the party committees' sector departments were abolished and power was invested in the soviets of people's deputies and their executive organs. Should we understand the intention to abolish the "CPSU's state structures" in some other way? All the more so as some mass media have launched a crusade against the Communist Party as a whole, and there are calls to deal with, to use the newspaper SMENA's expression, the "communist vermin."

In answer to your correspondent's request to state his position regarding such a turn of events, A. Sobchak stated that he was categorically opposed to unleashing anticommunist hysteria. In his words, this could result in exacerbating the situation in society. Those representatives of the party-state nomenklatura who participated in the plot should be made to answer before the court.

Leningrad's mayor warned the mass media (the democratic ones, of course) against whipping up hatred towards Communists, having noted in passing that bloodthirsty instincts are stirring in society in the present euphoric atmosphere.

At this point, the mayor reported his intention to remove the "Lenizdat" Publishing House from CPSU ownership and to turn it into a joint-stock company in the future. In answer to a question whether this would not be an infringement of the legislation on property currently in force, A. Sobchak alleged that the CPSU obkom [oblast committee] possesses no legal rights to "Lenizdat," and that if an amicable agreement is not reached with the Communists, the mayor would bring his own power to bear. Though he did make the proviso here that the State Board of Arbitration should finally resolve this problem. As regards the remaining CPSU property, specifically the joint enterprises, buildings, and so on, it is necessary, according to A. Sobchak, to keep strictly to the letter of the law.

The mayor expressed serious complaints against several of the mass media's democratic organs, in particular against staffers of the "Baltika" and "Otkrytyy Gorod" [Open City] radio stations. During the troubled days they poured much disinformation down on the city's inhabitants; for example, they reported that a landing of amphibious forces from Kronshtadt in Leningrad was being prepared, that troops were being brought into the city, and they called on citizens to repulse the expected attacks on the Mariinskiy Palace. Fabrications and downright lies created immense tension in the city's life and could have served as a provocation.

Leningrad—a major city and most important political center—was successfully saved from disturbances, the introduction of troops, and therefore unnecessary casualties. A. Sobchak noted in particular the well-thought out actions of Colonel General V. Samsonov, commander of the Leningrad Military District.

Leningrad Commissions To Investigate Coup

PM2508130491 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Aug 91 p 3

[Report from DR-PRESS, POSTFACTUM, TASS roundup: "Bolshevik 'Reservation'"]

[Text] Leningrad City Soviet is setting up two commissions—to eliminate the consequences of the putsch, and to investigate and assess the actions of officials during the coup. Apparently the chairman of the latter commission will be People's Deputy Aleksandr Shchelkanov.

Mayor A. Sobchak stated that the Lenizdat Publishing House will be confiscated from the CPSU. Furthermore he proposed that all the city's party structures be transferred to the Smolnyy, and that a "reservation" ["zapovednik"] be created there, and all their property handed over to the city's ownership.

Leningrad Party Secretary Rejects Archives Probe

LD2408201691 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1900 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Text] Boris Gidaspov, first secretary of the Leningrad oblast committee of the CPSU, considers opening the building of the oblast committee and its archives illegal. In a conversation with RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY correspondents, he declared: I had conversations with Mayor Sobchak and with Vice Mayor Shcherbakov, but, unfortunately, there was no reaction. I warned Sobchak that he would place oblast committee employees in a crisis situation. After all, we should receive our salaries on 26 August.

In answering the question of whether Gidaspov intended submitting this issue to the emergency Congress of USSR People's Deputies, Gidaspov said this was exclusively a Leningrad matter, this period would pass; and in any case, the Leningrad oblast committee of the CPSU would act just as it had acted.

Sealing of Oblast Committee 'Illegal'

LD2608194891 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0920 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] Gidaspov, first secretary of the Leningrad oblast committee of the CPSU, thinks that the sealing of the oblast committee and its archive is illegal. In his interview to a correspondent of the RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY he stated, among other things: I had discussions with Mayor Sobchak and Vice Mayor Scherbakov, but, unfortunately, there is no reaction. I warned Sobchak that he is putting the oblast committee employees into a disastrous position, because Monday is supposed to be our pay day.

To the question of whether Gidaspov is going to raise this issue at the emergency Congress of USSR People's Deputies, he answered that this is a specifically Leningrad business and that this period is going to pass and, in any case, Leningrad oblast committee is going to act in the same way it always has.

Shcherbakov on Action Against Soldiers, Civilians

LD2608215391 Moscow TASS in English 1427 GMT 26 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Majorov]

[Text] Leningrad August 26 TASS—Leningrad Vice-Mayor Vyacheslav Shcherbakov appealed to commanders of military units, organisations and establishments to avert illegal actions against servicemen and civilians working for the Soviet Army aimed at victimizing them for their behavior during the coup d'etat.

Shcherbarkov said in an appeal released today that reports on such actions are causing serious apprehensions and stressed the inadmissibility of such actions. Each and every case, he said, will be thoroughly investigated and assessed, Shcherbakov said.

Leningrad Official Meets Consuls, Discusses Coup

LD2508101891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1448 GMT 23 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Nikolay Kondratenko]

[Text] Leningrad, 23 Aug (TASS)—Aleksandr Belyayev, chairman of the Leningrad city Soviet, today met the city's consular corps. He informed the consul generals of foreign countries about events in the country connected with the attempted coup, and about the role of the local authorities and citizens in opposing the self-appointed committee attempting to restore a totalitarian regime in the Soviet Union.

As Aleksandr Belyayev reported, where all the facts point to the leaders of several departments and organizations carrying out the orders of the so-called State Committee for the State of Emergency, the relevant resolutions will be adopted—up to and including the institution of strict criminal proceedings against them. This also affects Boris Gidaspov, first secretary of the Leningrad CPSU oblast committee, who was a member of the Leningrad "State of Emergency Committee."

"There are proposals to exclude Gidaspov from the ranks of the party. We do not plan to undertake punitive actions against all Leningrad communists, because among those who defended freedom and democracy, there were also CPSU members. But events have shown who is who. Now it is completely obvious that it is essential for us to speed up the departization of the party structures," said the chairman. He expressed the hope that the city's historical name of Saint Petersburg will be returned to it as soon as possible.

Aleksandr Belyayev expressed society's gratitude to all the countries that have given moral support to the people of Leningrad.

Leningrad Soviet To Identify Coup Ideologues

LD2708060191 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1600 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] A working group has been set up within the Leningrad Soviet to identify the ideologues behind the attempted coup d'etat. It should present its findings at the next sitting of the Leningrad Soviet, which is due in mid-September.

Oblast Submission to Yeltsin Decrees Listed

LD2408213291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1852 GMT 23 Aug 91

[From the "ViD" program]

[Text] We are transmitting an official report by the "Vzglyad" program: The control directorate of the administration of the RSFSR president reports:

The leaderships of 29 oblasts, making up 60 percent of the overall number in Russia, have submitted to the decrees of the RSFSR president and dissociated themselves from the criminal activity of the State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE].

The leaderships of the following oblasts have declined to fulfill the decrees of the RSFSR president and have not given an appropriate evaluation of the SCSE: Amur, Astrakhan, Vladimir, Voronezh, Ivanovo, Kurgan, Kursk, Murmansk, Orenburg, Orel, Pskov, Ryazan, Tula, Saratov, Ulyanovsk, and Chita.

The leaders of Lipetsk Oblast, Rostov Oblast, Samara Oblast, and Krasnodar Kray openly supported the SCSE and cooperated in creating organizations corresponding to it.

There is no information on Arkhangel and Belgorod oBlasts and Stavropol Kray.

We were transmitting an official report by the "Vzglyad" program. At 2034 GMT, toward the end of the "ViD" program, Aleksandr Lyubimov makes a correction to the above item, saying: "Finally, today we gave statistics about how the oblasts of Russia conducted themselves during this complex and so difficult situation. We have received a call from Arkhangel Oblast from an offended leader. We did unjustly offend him. From the outset Arkhangel oBlast was with us, but information from there simply had not arrived and, as you can see, it still has not arrived. So, we ask for forgiveness from Arkhangel Oblast. It was with us on the red list."

Organizational Department Response to Decrees

PM2708094391 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Aug 91 p 2

[Report by the Organizational Department of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, RSFSR: "On the Attitude of Organs of State Power in the Republics Making Up the RSFSR and in Krays and Oblasts to the RSFSR President's Decrees Connected With Eliminating the Consequences of the Anticonstitutional Coup d'Etat"]

[Text] From reports by the leaders of soviet organs in the republics, krays, and oblasts of the Russian Federation as of 1500 hours 21 August this year:

The following supported, through their decisions, the actions of the RSFSR president and the RSFSR government:

The Karelian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], the Komi SSR, the Kalmyk SSR, the Mari SSR, the Mordovian SSR, the North Ossetian SSR, the Udmurt SSR, the Chuvash SSR, and the Yakutsk-Sakha SSR.

The following did not adopt any decisions with regard to fulfilling the RSFSR president's decrees:

The Bashkir SSR, the Buryat SSR, the Dagestan SSR, the Kabardino-Balkar SSR, the Tatar SSR, the Chechen-Ingush SSR, and the Tuva SSR (there is no communication with the republic).

Oblast soviet decisions were adopted with regard to fulfilling the RSFSR president's decrees in:

Sverdlovsk Oblast, Perm Oblast, Novgorod Oblast, Kemerovo Oblast, and Ryazan Oblast.

Kray and oblast soviet organ decisions that supported the actions of the RSFSR president and the RSFSR Government were adopted by:

Altay Kray, Khabarovsk Kray, Maritime Kray, Arkhangelsk Oblast, Belgorod Oblast, Bryansk Oblast, Vologda Oblast, Voronezh Oblast, Ivanovo Oblast, Irkutsk Oblast, Kaliningrad Oblast, Kaluga Oblast, Kamchatka Oblast, Kirov Oblast, Kostroma Oblast, Kurgan Oblast, Leningrad City, Leningrad Oblast, Magadan Oblast, Moscow City, Moscow Oblast, Novosibirsk Oblast, Omsk Oblast, Orenburg Oblast, Orel Oblast, Penza Oblast, Perm Oblast, Pskov Oblast, Rostov Oblast, Ryazan Oblast, Samara Oblast, Saratov Oblast, Sakhalin Oblast, Smolensk Oblast, Tambov Oblast, Tver Oblast, Tomsk Oblast, Tula Oblast, Tyumen Oblast, Ulyanovsk Oblast, Chelyabinsk Oblast, and Yaroslavl Oblast.

The following did not submit specific information to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on measures taken with regard to the RSFSR president's decrees and the RSFSR Council of Ministers resolution and evaded a clear-cut answer:

Krasnodar Kray, Krasnoyarsk Kray, Stavropol Kray, Amur Oblast, Vladimir Oblast, Lipetsk Oblast, Murmansk Oblast, and Chita Oblast.

Kaliningrad First Secretary Quits Party

LD2508042991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1600 GMT 24 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Biryukov]

[Text] Kaliningrad (Northwest Russia) 24 Aug (TASS)—Yuriy Semenov has submitted his resignation as first secretary of the Kaliningrad oblast committee of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Communist Party. He also holds the post of chairman of the oblast soviet of people's deputies.

His request was signed several weeks ago, but, as he told a TASS correspondent today, "the unpredictable development of events did not allow it to be discussed urgently."

"This decision stemmed, first, from the demands of the people's deputies, and, second, because such a joint holding of posts is against the laws of the RSFSR, which I, as chairman of the oblast committee, must respect," according to Semenov.

The attempted coup, which Yuriy Semenov says he did not support and which he condemned from the very beginning, "convinced him yet more" of "the correctness of the decision he has made."

The sincerity of this statement gives rise to no small doubts among the public of Kaliningrad, who demand the resignation of the leaders of the oblast who adopted a, frankly, wait-and-see position in the days of the putsch.

Furthermore, the question of the inadmissibility of holding party and state points jointly has been raised at sessions of the oblast soviet since last autumn. It was also raised at the beginning of this February during the visit by Boris Yeltsin to Kaliningrad oblast.

Yuriy Semenov has constantly put off a decision under various pretexts. Having promised to make his choice back in November 1990, he has decided only now, in August 1991.

Omsk Body Uges Calm, Questions Politburo Silence

PM2208124591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Aug 91 Second Edition p 2

[Report by unidentified PRAVDA correspondent under general headline: "In an Atmosphere of Expectation and Hope"]

[Text] Omsk—A session of Omsk Oblast Soviet Presidium took place 20 August. It adopted a virtually unanimous appeal to the oblast working people urging them to remain calm, carry on with their work, and concentrate on strengthening production discipline, conducting properly organized harvest work, and increasing the city's help for the countryside. There have been no political assessments of recent events, in order not to intensify confrontation. The wish has also been expressed to accelerate the convening of an extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

The oblast soviet executive committee leaders expressed grave concern in connection with the "war of laws": Threatening messages are coming from Moscow demanding unconditional submission to the Russian president's decrees, while, at the same time, the State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR is issuing its own resolution of an opposite nature. There is bewilderment at the CPSU Central Committee Politburo's silence and its attitude toward the actions of the State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR.

Islamic Center To Consider Role in Democracy

OW2608214091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2000 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Council of the Islamic Cultural Center will hold an enlarged meeting in Moscow on August 27 on the occasion of the democratic forces' victory and the failure of the coup attempt.

The meeting is to be attended by Moslem clergymen, prominent public and political figures. They plan to discuss ways of the Islamic Cultural Center taking part in the democratic processes under way in the Russian federation. The co-ordinator of the center, Mr Abdul Vahid Niyazov, said it has also been planned to discuss issues relating to the holding of a Moslem public forum scheduled for August 20 to 26 which did not take place because of the coup attempt.

The council meeting will be held at the central house of railwaymen, Komsomolskaya Square, 4, at 17:00 [1400 GMT]. All journalists are welcome.

Belorussia

Deputies Adopt Independence Declaration

LD2608123991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 26 Aug 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] In Belorussia at an extraordinary session of the parliament, a declaration of political and economic independence was adopted.

The People's Front faction considers that, in this way, Belorussia gains complete freedom and refuses to sign the Union treaty. Nikolay Dementey, chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet, was released from his duties. The Belorussian Communist Party's activity has been temporarily suspended.

Communist Party Withdraws From CPSU

LD2508164491 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Text] Nikolay Dementey, chairman of the Belorussian Supreme Soviet, resigned on Sunday. The Supreme Soviet met his request. Vyacheslav Kebich, the Belorussian prime minister, submitted a number of issues for consideration by the session, including that of the proclamation of Belorussia's state independence.

Anatoliy Malofeyev, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Belorussian Communist Party, speaking at the session today declared the Belorussian Communist Party's withdrawal from the CPSU as well as his own resignation from the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee.

Moldova

Proceedings To Be Brought Against Coup Backers

PM2308144591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Aug 91 Second Edition p 4

[By A. Pasechnik: "Investigate, Identify, and Bring to Trial..."]

[Text] Heavy machinery and buses disappeared from the streets and crossroads of the Moldovan capital today, and the volunteers who defended vital state government, communications, and information facilities during the recent anxious days and nights went home. Before they left, Moldovan President M. Snegur and other republic leaders addressed them at an early morning mass rally with words of gratitude for their patriotism and steadfastness.

At an emergency parliamentary session in the evening, a resolution was adopted instructing the republic KGB, Ministry of Internal Affairs, and Prosecutor's Office, in conjunction with organs of local self-management, to investigate and identify those officials, mass media organs, and individual citizens who followed illegal decisions by the State Committee for the State of Emergency so that proceedings might be instituted against them as provided for by law. USSR People's Deputies from the Republic of Moldova were asked to raise the question of relieving USSR Supreme Soviet Chairman A. Lukyanov from his duties at the upcoming USSR Supreme Soviet session.

Gagauz Leaders Arrested for Collaboration

LD2308142491 Moscow TASS in English 1407 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Text] Kishinev Aug 23 TASS—Leaders of Gagauz Republic Stepan Topal and Mikhail Kendigelyan were arrested in Moldavia on Friday for collaborating with the coup leaders, the MOLDOVA-PRES news agency reports.

They were arrested in accordance with a parliament resolution urging the republic's Interior Ministry, Security Committee and Prosecutor's Office to "find officials, bodies, mass media and citizens, who followed illegal orders of the State Emergency Committee or helped fulfill them and institute legal proceedings against them, as envisaged by law".

Ion Kostash, Moldavian interior minister, told MOLDOVA-PRES that on the first day of the coup, leaders of Gagauz Republic, which had been declared unlawful by the republic's parliament, sent greetings to the coup leaders. He said measures are being taken to detain other "adherents of dictatorship", including leaders of the cities of Tiraspol and Dnestr republic, where mostly Russian-speaking people live.

The news agency reports panic in Tiraspol after city fathers announced over the republic's radio that 80 buses of OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] men were heading towards the city from Kishinev.

Konstantin Oborok, first deputy Moldavia prime minister, denied this information. He called on people to remain calm.

Internal Affairs Units Search for 'Putschists'

LD2308135391 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Russian 1200 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Excerpts] [Announcer] We have just talked by phone to the Moscow editor of Radio Rossii. Here is the recording:

[Unidentified voice] We have just received a report from Moldova, from the Tiraspol Association, from the Work Collective Council in the Dniestr region. On the night of 23-24 August there were attacks by bandits on the homes of deputies of soviets of the Moldovan Dniestr region and in areas where the Gagauz live. There are suspicions that these actions are being taken by the internal affairs organs of Moldova. Twelve people have been arrested overnight. One of them is Vladimir Ivanovich Yemilyanov, chairman of the United Council of Work Collectives of the Dniestr Region. Detachments of workers have blocked the roads to Kishinev. It is thought that it is from there that the people's militia of the Popular Front of Moldova came. The Tiraspol association of work collectives considers that there may be full-scale military action on all sides. There is every possibility of this. We are now waiting for news from our correspondent from Kishinev and from Tiraspol [words indistinct] situation, because the Popular Front of Moldova denies the reports I have just read out. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] We were alarmed by the report from Russian journalist Vladimir Babudin on the situation in Moldova. We contacted a staff member in the office of Mircha Snegur, president of Moldova, and asked him to clarify what the situation actually is there in Moldova. He informed us that through a decision by the government, units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Moldova and the OMON of Moldova are carrying out orders to discover persons who supported the putschists in Moldova, and who themselves engaged in practical actions to carry out the instructions of the putschists. As for any kind of shooting, the president of Moldova's service reported that it did not have any such information at its disposal. We will tell you in more detail about the situation in Moldova this evening, in our 1900 program.

Police Arrest Coup Sympathizers

OW2308194091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1902 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Last night Moldova's republican police arrested persons who had actively supported the coup attempt in the USSR. Among them: Topal, Kindigelyan, Pologov, Popov, Botnar, Porozhan.

The police acted in accordance with the August 21, 1991, resolution of the Moldavian parliament. The resolution charged the Interior Ministry and the Procurator's Office, together with the local self-government bodies, with exposing the organisations, mass media and individuals who had complied uith unlawful direction of the emergency committee or had taken efforts to ensure compliance.

Moldova's permanent representative office in Moscow denied media reports of arrests of innocent citizens, for example in the Dniestr area. It allegedly has materials corroborating the guilt of the arrestees.

Snegur Cables Yeltsin, Gorbachev

LD2308230791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1937 GMT 23 Aug 91

[By MOLDOVA-PRES Agency correspondent Anatoliy Golya]

[Text] Kishinev, 23 Aug (TASS)—Mircha Snegur, president of Moldova, today sent a telegram to Boris Yeltsin, the president of Russia, denying information broadcast by Russia's Radio to the effect that attacks had been made on the apartments of deputies of the Dnestr Republic and the Gagauz Republic, and that subunits of volunteers are moving in the direction of Tiraspol.

In reality, the telegram notes, "Moldova's KGB, Interior Ministry and Procuracy are carrying out the 21 August decision by the republic's parliament on checking and exposing those officials, bodies, and citizens who had carried out the illegal decisions of the criminal State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE] or had helped them to be carried out and on instituting proceedings against them in accordance with the law." "We are fully determined to eliminate the putschists' stronghold in the Moldovan Republic," the telegram emphasizes.

In a telegram sent the same day to Mikhail Gorbachev, the USSR president, Mircha Snegur notes that despite the fact that the plot by the organizers of the coup had been foiled in the USSR, the leaders of the Gagauz and Dnestr republics, which had from the very outset of the coup supported the State Committee for the State of Emergency, are continuing to act in the tenor of the state of emergency proclaimed by this committee. "In this," the telegram says, "they have the support of the armed forces of the Odessa Military District, led by its commander, Colonel General I. Morozov." This assistance is being expressed, according to Mircha Snegur, in the provision of armaments, communications facilities, and personnel and military barracks to conceal anticonstitutional activities.

The telegram also points out that the military are actively hampering the republic's law enforcement bodies from taking measures to institute proceedings against those guilty, and are concealing them on the territory of military units in Tiraspol.

Mircha Snegur's telegram contains a request for instructions to be given to the Odessa Military District Command to cease such assistance.

Parliament To Consider Independence 27 Aug

AU2508163291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1436 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Text] Chisinau [Kishinev] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 25 Aug—Chisinau Radio Station announced that the president of the parliament of the Republic of Moldova decided to convene a special session of the sixth parliament at noon on 27 August. Its agenda includes the item on the proclamation of the Republic of Moldova.

Ukraine's Independence Proclamation Welcomed

AU2608160691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1454 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] Chisinau [Kishinev], ROMPRES, 26 Aug—In a telegram sent to Ukraine's Supreme Soviet, the Presidium of the Republic of Moldova Parliament welcomes the decision of Ukraine's Supreme Soviet concerning the proclamation of independence and the formation of the sovereign Ukraine state. We declare ready to back the assertion of Ukraine's independence and the constructive settlement of all questions in keeping with Moldova's and Ukraine's vital interests, the telegram released by MOLDOVA-PRES specifies.

Baltics', Georgia's Independence Recognized

LD2608164391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1623 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] Kishinev, 26 Aug (TASS)—Mircha Snegur, president of the Republic of Moldova, today signed a decree recognizing the state independence of the Estonian and Lithuanian republics and of the Republic of Georgia, a MOLDOVA-PRES correspondent has reported.

The Moldovan Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been instructed to hold the relevant talks and sign agreements on establishing diplomatic relations between Moldova and the republics that have proclaimed state independence.

Snegur Urges Rejection of 'Reactionary Forces'

OW2608153991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1400 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Monday Moldova President Mircha Snegur addressed the residents of Dniestr region over local radio. He urged them to refrain from supporting the reactionary forces backed by the parliamentary group "Soyuz" or joining mass actions they organize.

"As Moldova's president I appeal to you do display calm, wisdom and common sense, and respect Moldova's constitution and laws", said Mircha Snegur.

The president invited inhabitants of Dniestr region to join the people's assembly to be held in Kishinev on Tuesday to discuss the issue of Moldova's independence.

Lately arrests were conducted in Dniestr region populated largely by Russian-speakers and in Gagauz-populated localities where support was proclaimed for the conspirators. This sparked discontent among the local people. Last year the leaders of Dniestr region and Gagauza announced independence. However Moldova's authorities refused to recognize their decision.

Snegur Rejects Trans-Dniestrian Independence

AU2608154691 Bucharest Programul Unu Radio Network in Romanian 1500 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] Radio Chisinau [Kishinev] reports that news has been received from Tiraspol about the fact that the Supreme Soviet of the so-called Trans-Dniestrian Soviet Socialist Republic has proclaimed the independence of that anticonstitutional and illegal republic. The political leaders in Tiraspol called on the people of the town to gather in a rally. Within this context, the president of the Republic of Moldova, Mircha Snegur, has made an appeal to the inhabitants of Trans-Dniestria. In his speech, Mr. Snegur said, "In my capacity as president of the Republic of Moldova, I call on you to keep calm, show tranquillity, and refuse to participate in the actions organized by the mentioned leaders. Continue work at your workplace and show wisdom and reason. I call on you to respect the constitution and the laws adopted by the Moldovan Parliament that has been elected in a democratic way, and I invite you to participate in the mass rally that will take place tomorrow, 27 August, at 1000 hours [0700 GMT] in Chisinau, a rally organized by the presidium, the parliament, and the government of the Republic of Moldova. This will be the meeting during which the problem that troubles the entire nation of the Republic of Moldova, that is the issue of state sovereignty of the republic and of all those who live on its territory, will be solved."

Parliament Bans Communist Party Papers

PM2608132991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Aug 91 Union Edition p 4

[By S. Gamova under the general heading "Wave of Change Rises"]

[Text] Kishinev—USSR People's Deputies from Moldova who left for a session in Moscow have been instructed by the [Moldovan] parliament to demand that A. Lukyanov, incumbent chairman of the Supreme Soviet, be called to account for his complicity in the coup d'etat.

The parliament of Moldova adopted a resolution instructing the Prosecutor's Office to take the appropriate steps with regard to institutions, press organs, and individuals who backed the anti-perestroyka committee "for the state of emergency." In this connection the parliament's presidium decided to ban publication of the Moldova Communist Party Central Committee newspapers SOVETSKAYA MOLDOVA and KUVYNTUL (SLOVO) and the Kishinev gorkom [city party committee] newspaper KISHINEVSKIYE NOVOSTI.

Prior to returning home from the capital of Moldova, the volunteers summoned there by the republic's president held a rally in the main square. They demanded that the Moldova Communist Party end and some speakers called for a march on rayon party committees and gorkoms. The republic's president, M. Snegur, told everyone to disperse calmly and assured them that all questions relating to the Moldova Communist Party would be decided by parliament at the fall session.

The parliament resolution is also to apply to the regions of Moldova—the Dniestr and Gagauz regions—that backed the self-proclaimed committee.

Muravskiy Comments on Situation After Putsch

Rejects 'Destabilizing Actions'

AU2408145391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1131 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24 Aug—In a statement to the press, Moldova's Prime Minister Valeriy Muravskiy, reminding first that "the government and the parliament of the Republic of Moldova, the entire leadership of Moldova took a firm stand against the coup d'etat from the very first day, by not recognizing the so-called Emergency State Committee", said:

"Now, when the heat of the moment has passed and the situation has improved, when the government and parliament of the republic have done their utmost to ease tension and avoid bloodshed, some of the separatist leaders are trying to destabilize the peaceful situation in the republic. Friday, 23 August, in Tiraspol and other places on the left bank of the Dniestr, they spread the rumor that armed detachments of volunteers were coming from the right bank of the Dniestr with the alleged intention to occupy Tiraspol and other towns. Consequently, they blocked the towns of Dubasari, Grigoriopol and others. On behalf of the government, I hereby declare this is not true. The government is in control of the whole republic and will allow no movement to undertake provocative and destabilizing actions."

"All leaders, at all levels, who upheld the coup and took concrete action for its support, by this destabilizing the social and political state of the republic, will be held responsible, in compliance with the laws of the Republic of Moldova, irrespective of their nationality and political leaning. Directions to this effect have already been given to the competent institutions."

Denounces Coup Supporters

LD2408203391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1940 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Text] Kishinev, 24 Aug (MOLDOVA PRES-TASS)—Prime Minister Valeriy Muravskiy of Moldova has spoken on national television. He noted that in the days when democracy and the sovereignty of the republic were undergoing grave trials, the leaders of the Dniestr region and the south of Moldova hastened to testify to their support for the State Committee for the State of Emergency. Valeriy Muravskiy read a number of telegrams of greetings sent by these leaders to the plotters. Now, the people who welcomed the coup plotters are trying to destabilize the situation in the republic, the prime minister went on. In the Tiraspol and other towns on the Dniestr left bank, rumors were being spread about an invasion allegedly being prepared by detachments of armed volunteers.

The prime minister declared on behalf of the republican government that this is a lie. He appealed for people not to yield to the provocation of those who are striving at all costs to satisfy their political ambitions.

Valeriy Muravskiy also announced that those persons who had backed the state criminals would be brought to account.

Says Plotters 'Answerable'

LD2508111691 Moscow TASS in English 0910 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Text] Kishinev Aug 25 TASS—In the days of serious trial for democracy and the republic's sovereignty, leaders of the Dniestr Region and southern Moldavia hastened to support the "Emergency Committee", Moldavian Prime Minister Valeriy Muravskiy has said in a televised address.

Muravskiy read out several telegrams by the leaders, welcoming the plotters.

Now people, who hailed the putschists, are trying to destabilise the situation in the republic, Muravskiy said. In Tiraspol and other cities on the left bank of the Dniestr, rumours are being spread about alleged preparations for invasion by armed volunteers, he said.

On behalf of the republic's government, the prime minister denied the rumours. He called to resist provocations by those, who are trying to satisfy their political ambitions at any cost.

Muravskiy said plotter supporters will be made answerable.

Ukraine

CPSU Central Committee Statement on Situation

LD2408075691 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Statement by the Ukrainian CPSU Central Committee Secretariat]

[Text] The dangerous development of events in our society threatened the vital interests of peoples and citizens of the USSR and the independence and territorial integrity of the Soviet state. In this situation the leadership of the country resorted to taking extraordinary measures. Our firm position is that these forced and absolutely objectionable measures should be implemented strictly according to the Constitution and laws of the USSR and republics. It is necessary under all circumstances to guarantee all citizens the constitutional rights and freedoms, personal security and security of property, the unimpeded activity of the legally elected power and government bodies, and the further development of the democratic transformations; to exclude the possibility of instituting a totalitarian regime in any form. The USSR Supreme Soviet, and, if necessary, the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, has to have its say regarding the situation that has taken shape.

In this responsible moment we call on communists and all citizens of the Ukraine to display maturity and good sense, patience, and a balanced approach; to prevent bloodshed and any actions which could lead to dangerous aggravation of the situation. This is what is needed most today. It is necessary to resolutely rebuff the displays of extremism and attempts by irresponsible elements to incite people to civil disobedience, confrontation, and opposition. The working people must know that one who makes appeals for provocation plays with fire.

The Secretariat of the Central Committee confirms once again the invariability and consistency of the political course of the Communist Party of the Ukraine which was determined by its 28th Congress and the Plenum of the Central Committee. Guided by the interests of the people of the Ukraine, the Communist Party considers leading the society out of deep crisis and giving the real meaning to the sovereignty of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic to be its most important goals and tasks.

The will of the people of the Ukraine expressed, during the Union referendum and the republican opinion poll, that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics should be preserved and that the Ukraine should be part of the renovated Union on the basis of the state sovereignty declaration, is a law for us. Retaining the allegiance to fraternal friendship of peoples of our country we will do everything to preserve and strengthen it. In these disturbed days we call for concentration of efforts to ensure high organization and stable rhythm of production; to conclude harvesting and procuring bread grain and other agricultural products; to prepare enterprises, power stations, housing and utilities, and transport to work under winter conditions; and to increase the volume of housing construction. The responsibility and complexity of the current political moment calls for consolidation of society and yet closer unity of all patriotic forces in the name of civil peace and public tranquility. We call for it from everyone who values the happiness and well-being of the people and the revival and prosperity of the sovereign Soviet state.

Kravchuk on Talk With Gorbachev 21 Aug

LD2408165691 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 0500 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Excerpts] Yesterday, when President Gorbachev was still in the Crimea, the chairman of the Ukraine Supreme Soviet spoke to him on the telephone. Leonid Makarovych Kravchuk granted an interview to our correspondent, Vitaliy Naumenko:

[Begin recording] [Naumenko] You are the first man, first among the leaders of republics who has had a conversation with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev since these dramatic events. They have lasted several days, but the impression is that all that was a terrible nightmare that has suddenly ended. You were the first to speak with Mikhail Sergeyevich. The first question is: How was he feeling, and what are your impressions of this conversation?

[Kravchuk] I really did not believe myself that this was true, that I was speaking to the president of the country, and the first thing I could hear by his voice, by intonation, and by words which he found for that conversation that he was a physically healthy person, that he was in a good mood, that he understood that he had support in the republics and that of the people, that he had support to return to power, and that everything should be on a legal basis. He had support for those democratic transformations which existed, but they should be in conjunction with the law, with order, and with the constitution. [passage omitted: Kravchuk repeats part of Gorbachev's story about his arrest and talks about how difficult it was for Gorbachev and his family to go through such tragic events]

You know, I want to say once again that I do not agree with everything, with the existing policy, and with the existing measures. I am saying this frankly because I have the right to that. In my interviews in newspapers I sometimes sharply criticized Mikhail Sergeyevich personally and the policy and actions. However, this is one thing, but when the talk is about....

[Naumenko, interrupting] There are different types of arguments, as it were.

[Kravchuk] This is the determining of one's position and making one's understanding clear as regards one period or another, one law and action or another, it should be like that. [passage omitted: Kravchuk speaks about the press reaction on the situation in the country before the coup and some warnings which could be heard]

I see now that maybe some preparation of public opinion was going on. However, you see what stance the people have taken. They formed a wall. The Muscovites did not get frightened. They were neither frightened by armored personnel carriers, nor by tanks. And the deputies, too, though in different ways, but the majority said: No, we will not renounce law, democracy, and sovereignty. [passage omitted: Kravchuk says that the people come first]

How much these people have suffered! And in the name of this suffering those who may still be plotting at present, who have not given up their dark thoughts, should understand that the talk is about millions of people. One simply wants to shout: Stop guys!. Because the talk is not about you. Yes, disgrace and shame will fall on those who did this. I do not envy them, and the fact that they may now be reconsidering the thing they have done. But it is, let's say, their own business, they knew what they were going for. But everyone of them now has to think about the fact that people, the nation, that millions can suffer. A soldier, a general, a minister, and a member of that so-called Emergency Committee, I think that there is no such thing any longer and there never was such a thing, that it was a deviation from the democratic process, from the constitutional and legal process. The world is looking at us. We are disgraced before the world, it is not we but those who were involved in it. How will the international community look at us now? What kind of a country is this if such situation can take place? Can such a thing be suddenly done by people who were together? [passage omitted: Kravchuk says that Gorbachev was following the events from his villa in the Crimea where he was listening to the radio and watching television]

I said that during the conversation with me he even said that he watched the program and listened to the radio where yesterday the talk was about the interview in which I was saying that I did not believe that he was ill, because I just said goodbye to him at the same table.

[Naumenko] How did he appraise Ukraine's position in these difficult days?

[Kravchuk] He appraised it correctly, yes, correctly. I told him that today I conveyed a telephone ultimatum to Lukyanov. I called it this way. To ensure that the Supreme Soviet will be held only with the presence of Mikhail Sergeyevich and that he speak to the Supreme Soviet—otherwise I will not agree. I told him: You are the first person whom I am telling this, I have not told this to anyone yet. I said this to him and now to you, for the press, so to speak. I intended in one or two days to appeal to the United Nations, because I would like you to understand that an appeal by anyone is one thing and an appeal of a UN member is another. The Ukraine as a UN member had the right to appeal and immediately convene the Security Council and discuss the issue of what is going on.

[Naumenko] That is to say, the situation then changes qualitatively.

[Kravchuk] Yes, it changes qualitatively. I thought that if this was going to continue and we would not know about the fate of the president then I intended to appeal with a request that the world community, should express itself to ensure that the president is released immediately and given the opportunity to say a word and appeal to people and make clear his position on these issues. However, thank God, as they say, everything went well. Our position and, I believe, our pressure, and today I put full pressure on Lukyanov and in addition I wrote him a (?program), an appeal, it will be broadcast on the radio sometime today. [sentence as heard] Our conversation was very sharp and principled—I would say categorical. I already said that I did not simply ask, I demanded, as the leader of such a large state as Ukraine, that this should be done. [passage omitted: Kravchuk said that things should now go back to normal, law should be restored, and people focus on pressing problems of the everyday life]

Communist Party Leader Hurenko Interviewed

Explains Failure To Act

LD2308215991 Kiev Radio Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 2130 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] Today Stanislav Hurenko, the leader of the Ukrainian Communists, held a news conference. With details, here's Radio Kiev's Aleksey Gubenko:

[Begin recording] [Gubenko] Stanislav Hurenko, first secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine, was one of the last persons to speak with Mikhail Gorbachev before the president was arrested this Monday in his dacha in the Crimea. Mr. Hurenko admitted this at a press conference he held this afternoon in Kiev.

[Hurenko, in Ukrainian with English translation] I spoke with Gorbachev on his initiative and he phoned me in the second half of the day on Sunday. We spoke about the political situation in the Ukraine. He outlined his ideas regarding the signing of the treaty of the Union and, by the way, discussed his health with me. To make it clear, he said that the doctors treated him with [names indistinct] as he had an acute fit of lumbago.

[Gubenko] Nevertheless, Stanislav Hurenko did not tell this to the press on the first day of the coup, nor did the Communist Party come out with a condemnation of the treason until this afternoon. Explaining this delay, Mr. Hurenko said there was no information to rely on and the main task of the Communist Party was to prevent any confrontation.

According to him, he had extensive contacts with commander of the ground forces, General Varennikov, who arrived in the Ukraine, and commander of the Kiev Military District, General Chechevatov.

According to Mr. Hurenko, he conveyed to the generals the position of the Communist Party opposing the coup. Answering the question from Radio Kiev whether there was a difference in his position and that outlined in the address to the nation released by the traitors on the first day of the coup, Mr. Hurenko said it was all words:

[Hurenko] I think that that address and other statements of that kind are merely a declaration. We have to judge everyone by practical steps and practical steps of that clique who called themselves a committee show a total discreparancy between their views and my visions of future developments. As for declarations, you can write one thing and do totally different things.

[Gubenko] When asked about responsibility of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party for organizing the coup, he said that investigation under pressure now can reveal all sorts of things, but he denied that communists were behind the coup, even though it was staged by six members of the Central Committee.

[Hurenko] Talking about responsibility, I do not know about any such activity. I'm not aware that within the Central Committee or probably the Secretariat, and definitely in the Politburo, no decisions to this effect, no conference, no resolutions regarding these actions have been taken.

[Gubenko] According to Stanislav Hurenko, the Communist Party finds it practically impossible to forecast future events.

[Hurenko] The situation is surely a revolutionary one, and I would not venture to forecast developments more than two days ahead, although much depends on the extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine to be held this Saturday.

[Gubenko] As the head of the Ukrainian Communist Party, Stanislav Hurenko, said at the press conference that the opposition received four aces in each hand after the crisis while the communists will face hard days and heaps of anticommunist hysteria. [sentence as heard] [end recording]

Questioned on Role in Coup Plot

LD2508044591 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 2100 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Aleksey (Gubenko) commentary]

[Text] At 1600 on 22 August, Stanislav Hurenko, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, held a press conference in Kiev. Answering my question about the involvement of the Central Committee of the CPSU and other top party structures in organizing the coup and bearing responsibility for such activities, Stanislav Hurenko said the following:

[Begin Hurenko recording in Ukrainian with superimposed English translation] Regarding responsibility, I know nothing of such activities. I'm not aware of anything like that. I want to say that, within the Central Committee—though I'm not certain about the Secretariat—there was nothing of that sort, and I can certainly say that, regarding the Politburo, there were no decisions on this score, no discussions or any endorsement of this action. [end recording]

Later that day, central Soviet television reported that there was a secret message from the Central Committee which called on local party organizations to mobilize communists in support of the traitors. It was also reported about a decision to hold an extraordinary plenary meeting of the Central Committee, planned for 20 August. That information was supplied by the former member of the Politburo, Nazarbayev.

One can explain the gap in the following way: Perhaps people in Moscow were well aware of Mr. Hurenko's dedication to law and democracy, as well as high moral level of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, so they decided not to send the secret materials to Kiev. There is another explanation, though: Such actions had indeed taken place, which means a hand in the crime, the more so that Mr. Hurenko hinted he was not certain about the Secretariat.

In any case, it would be nice to have an explanation, the more so that Mr. Hurenko said at the press conference that he doesn't want to be a political turncoat.

Explains Party Policy

LD2308200191 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 0500 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Text] We have already reported that a news conference was held yesterday in the press center of Ukraine's CP Central Committee. Our correspondent Sergeiy Sysyun reports:

[Sysyun] Stanislav Ivanovych Hurenko, first secretary of Ukraine's CPSU Central Committee—it was he who was answering journalists questions—started the news conference precisely with the information about the sitting of the Politburo and the resolution adopted at it. Listeners had the opportunity to familiarize themselves with the conclusions and appraisals this document contains. However, representatives of the mass media were interested first and foremost in how the leadership of the Communist Party of Ukraine was acting, what it was doing and what measures it was taking during the last three days. I will say that sometimes the news conference, as far as the journalists were concerned, even resembled an interrogation—everything was of interest. For example, what were the contacts with rayon and oblast party committees like? Was the information about the situation in the provinces being delivered? How could it be explained that the leadership of the CPSU Central Committee did not express its position for such a long time?

Another question: Were there attempts by the rebels to influence the leadership of Ukraine's CP Central Committee? The answer: No, there were no such attempts. And there is, certainly, the main question which was asked by journalists quite a few times: What was the position of Ukraine's CP Central Committee in those days? What did the leadership of the Communist Party consider necessary to concentrate its efforts on? Here is part of the answer by Stanislav Ivanovych Hurenko:

[Begin Hurenko recording] First and foremost, to carry out work to prevent clashes in society, to prevent the aggravation of the situation from reaching dangerous limits, which could provoke the imposition of a state of emergency. This was our first thought and our first position, which remained unchanged. We were struggling for this, and we laid it down in our resolutions, taking into consideration the extremely, I stress, the extremely tough conditions concerning information, and, to put it simply, the lack of information, apart from the information which was being broadcast on the official channels of radio and television. As far as our position is concerned, the party has no power functions at present; the party is a political force. And I understand that Ukraine's CP Central Committee and its activity had to have political appraisal. Our policy did not change, it has not changed today, either. (?One had) to appraise the situation. You know, I believe that it is a somewhat light-minded action to give some sort of political appraisal when there is lack of information, taking into account the fact that two million people support the organization. Therefore, our appraisals proceeded from the information which we possessed. The first thing we said was that no changes had taken place, and would not take place in our policy in principle. And in our practical activity we supported the speech of Leonid Makarovych Kravchuk. [end recording]

Interior Ministry Adopts Departyization Decree

LD2308213691 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 1500 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Text] The republic's Ministry of Internal Affairs Board adopted a decision today on the necessity of departyization of Ukraine's internal affairs bodies. The board petitioned the Ukraine Supreme Soviet to pass a corresponding law.

Movement Seeks Ban on Communist Activities

OW2308182891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1652 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The RUKh [Ukraine People's Movement for Perestroyka], a popular movement in the Ukraine, announced that its faction in the Ukrainian parliament would seek a ban on the activities of the Communist Party in the Ukraine and the nationalisation of its property at the session of the republican Supreme Soviet opening Saturday.

They will also move that all assets and industrial potential in the republican territory be transferred to the Ukraine and that the Ukraine leave the USSR.

CPSU Secretariat Protests 'Anticommunist Hysteria'

LD2408025591 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 23 Aug 91

["Statement of the Ukraine's CPSU Central Committee Secretariat"]

[Text] The Ukraine's CPSU Central Committee Secretariat considers its duty to express a resolute protest with regard to flagrant violations in certain republic regions of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Constitution, the Declaration of State Sovereignty of the Ukraine, and the Ukrainian SSR legislation now in force. Using the dramatic development of recent days' events in the country, the forces opposed to the Ukraine Communist Party are kindling anticommunist hysteria, groundlessly accusing the party of republic communists of complicity in the attempted state coup and support to its organizers. At the same time, the real facts and published documents—which indicate unequivocally the position and role of the Ukraine Communist Party with regard to these events and the fact that imposition of the state of emergency was successfully prevented, bloodshed avoided, and all constitutional bodies of power retained in full precisely due to the balanced line and efforts of communists—are being disregarded. The calls for reprisals against communists can be heard at meetings, various types of gatherings, and in certain mass media.

Especially large-scale persecutions for political reasons were in Lvov oblast. A real terror has been unleashed here against communists, party committees, and organizations; unlawful actions are being perpetrated. Yavorov, Radekhov, and Sokal rayons' executive committees adopted decisions to ban the organizational activity of the Ukraine Communist Party on their territory. The premises of the oblast committee and that of a number of rayon party committees have been seized with the direct connivance of the local government bodies, in the first place of the Lvov oblast executive committee. Bank accounts are being closed; the publishing of party publications is being stopped.

Kolomyya city executive committee in Ivano-Frankovsk oblast has submitted the issue of nationalization of CPSU property and removal of communists from work collectives for examination by the session. Ukrainian SSR people's deputies, members of the People's Council, are quite often the organizers of these unlawful actions.

While protesting categorically the flouting of the rights of innocent people, unlawful actions, and disregard for the Constitutions of Ukraine and the USSR, the Ukraine's CPSU Central Committee Secretariat draws attention to the fact that it is a direct threat to democracy to allow such phenomena, and, moreover, to connive with them. Behind the smokescreen of pharisaical phrases of the figures of Rukh and URP [Ukrainian Republican Party] about democracy, the new totalitarianism shows its sinister face more and more clearly. Democracy is incompatible with humiliation and persecution of people and creation of the atmosphere of hatred and vengeance. We appeal to the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet, the republic's Cabinet of Ministers, and the Procurator's Office with a demand to immediately take measures to restore legality and law and order in the entire republic. We appeal to communists: Retain self-posession; do not give in to attempts to threaten you and to form complex or irresponsible actions of the group of adventurers. We appeal to all people of goodwill: Let us prevent the trampling of democracy. Today it needs protection not only against the right-wing, but also against those who draw us toward a new rigid dictatorship calling themselves left-wingers.

People's Deputies Meet Kiev Military 23 Aug

LD2508041991 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 2100 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Text] Yesterday, People's Deputies of Ukraine met in Kiev with the leaders of the Kiev military district. A letter demanded that the journalists were not allowed to be present at the meeting. After the meeting, the military leaders of the district refused to give an interview to our correspondent, so we were able to interview only one of the sides, the opposition. (Vylin Mutiarsyan), head of the Union of Officers, Citizens of Ukraine, who took part in the meeting accused the leader of the Kiev military district, Chechevatov, and his deputy, (Sherikov), of collaboration with the putschists. (Mutiarsyan) said the military district was made ready for action upon the orders of the plotters. (Vylin Mutiarsyan) referred to this meeting as an attempt of the military council of the Kiev military district to clear (?out) the sentiments of democrats after the coup d'etat was frustrated and their assessment of the actions undertaken by the military chiefs.

Kravchuk's Withdrawal From CPSU Reported

Leaves CPSU, Ukrainian Communist Party

OW2408163591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1500 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Addressing an extraordinary session of the Ukrainian parliament on Saturday, chairman of the republican Supreme Soviet Leonid Kravchuk declared that he had sent in his resignation to the CPSU Central Committee. He also said that he had stepped down as a member of the Central Committee Politburo of the Ukrainian Communist Party.

Pressured by the opposition, Kravchuk promised that if the destruction of documents passed in the Ukraine during the coup attempt is confirmed, a bill on the seizure of archives of the republican and all regional structures of the KGB, the Interior Ministry and the Communist Party will be put to the vote.

While the bill was discussed, parliamentarian from the Ukrainian Communist Party V. Matvienko demanded that the steps provided for in the bill must apply to all political parties.

The opposition protested this utterance. Opposition parliamentarians emphasized that the Ukrainian democrats were untainted by collaboration with the coup leaders. Some of the parliamentarians clamoured: "Down with the CPSU!"

Demonstrators in Kiev are picketing all entrances to the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee building. They do not prevent individuals from entering or leaving the building but stop everyone who attempts to smuggle out any documents. The picketers are waiting for the parliament to decide on the seizure of the Central Committee.

Traffic is closed at the building of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet. The parliament is surrounded by large crowds.

Kiev Reports Kravchuk's Withdrawal

LD2408190691 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 1815 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Text] Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Chairman Leonid Kravchuk decided to leave the CPSU Central Committee, the Politburo, and the Ukraine's CPSU Central Committee. He announced this today at the extraordinary session of the republic's Supreme Soviet. Kravchuk was urged to make such a decision after information on the complicity of a group of CPSU Central Committee secretaries, in circulating secret documents among party committees with recomendations on how to act during the coup, was reported. Kravchuk considers such actions to be immoral and criminal with regard to one's own people. All those who are guilty, in his view, should be severely punished in accordance with the law.

KGB, Interior Ministry Leave Communist Party

OW2408163891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1500 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A collegium of the Ukrainian Interior Ministry and the KGB took a decision on the need for all law enforcement structures to departyize. Mr. Kravchuk supports this move. He suggested that the move be put on the agenda of the next parliamentary session in the Ukraine.

Kiev Radio Carries Supreme Soviet Relay

LD2408135391

[Editorial Report] Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian is monitored in progress at 0800 GMT on 24 August carrying a relay of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet session in Kiev, chaired by President Leonid Kravchuk.

Kravchuk is in the progress of delivering an opening speech in which he points out the importance of the following issues: the creation of Ukrainian territorial defense force; the status of units of the USSR Armed Forces stationed on the territory of the Ukraine has to be immediately examined; the departyization of internal affairs agencies has to be carried out; real meaning should be given to the declaration of state sovereignty of the Ukraine; the draft Union treaty should be completely reviewed; measures should be taken to stabilize the economy and make the law on economic independence of the Ukraine really work; the issue of the Ukrainian national currency should be examined taking into account the seriousness of the situation; problems with grain procurement should be settled immediately; persons opposed to political and economic sovereignty of the Ukraine should be dismissed.

Kravchuk concludes his speech and deputies start asking questions, many of which are very sharp.

Questioned about whether he supported the Union treaty during consultations in Moscow with Gorbachev, Kravchuk says that he did not support anything of the sort when he was in Moscow. Asked about the development of events during the coup, who informed him about the imposition of the state of emergency, and why he had a meeting with generals, including General Varennikov, Kravchuk said that Hurenko was the first person to inform him about the state of emergency.

Kravchuk is asked why he did not give orders to arrest General Varennikov, to which he give a noncommittal reply.

Concerning a proposal to seal the premises of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and KGB to prevent the destruction of documents that might contain incriminating evidence about their support of the coup, Kravchuk says he does not object to sealing the party's headquarters if there is information about attempts to destroy documents.

A proposal is made to pass a resolution on sealing the party and KGB premises. Deputies were about to vote the resolution without discussing it. However, a chairman of a state commission suggested that all headquarters of political parties and organizations should be sealed to establish the role of all political organizations in the coup. There was an outburst of anger in the hall. It was impossible to continue work, whereupon the chairman announced a break for 30 minutes.

At 0930 GMT after the 30 minute break, the deputies return to the hall and continue asking questions, focusing on what is described as Kravchuk's indecisive actions and behavior during the USSR coup.

An unidentified deputy asks about Lukyanov's statement that the state of emergency would probably be imposed in some regions of the Ukraine and in Kiev, implying that it was agreed upon with Kravchuk. Kravchuk calls Lukyanov a liar and a state criminal and denies such allegations, saying that Lukyanov is now frightened and is spreading lies about everybody, even the president himself.

An unidentified deputy asks whether Kravchuk will support a resolution on adopting all attributes of national sovereignty, to which Kravchuk responds positively.

An unidentified deputy asks about the situation with the press in the Ukraine during the coup and asks about Kravchuk's conversation with "(Pravdenko)" and "(Deklenko)" on the reaction of the press. Another deputy asks Kravchuk why he did not do anything to convey the truth in the press. Kravchuk is unable to answer.

At 1030 GMT, the deputies vote in favor of concluding the question-and-answer session and giving other deputies a chance to speak.

The floor is given to Deputy Moroz, leader of the parliament's majority, who speaks of a balanced approach to all problems which arouse deputies' attention to economic problems.

Deputy Yukhnovskyy, leader of the opposition, then takes the floor, presenting the complete course of events which were taking place throughout the period of the coup and giving his analysis of a very cautious resolution by the UkSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Yukhnovskyy criticizes Kravchuk's position, enumerates oblasts where support was given—in one way or another—to the perpetrators of the coup, and sharply criticizes the role of the Ukrainian Communist Party unveiling its sinister role in the present events and mentions its role in earlier events throughout the Ukraine and the USSR. Yuknovskyy also lays out a plan of immediate action to strengthen Ukrainian sovereignty, in particular—holding the referendum on whether Ukrainian citizens want it to become completely independent, creating the Ukrainian national guard, nationalizing all military and civil enterprises, and creating a Ukrainian national currency. Yukhnovskyy expresses the need to carry out investigations on the role of officials and organizations, especially those of the party, in the party coup. Yuknovskyy also speaks about the Union treaty, pointing out that Yeltsin's position on the Union treaty favors keeping the territory of "provinces" under any kind of control of Russia. Yukhnovskyy calls for the UkSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's resignation since, as Yukhnovskyy puts it, it did not act properly during the coup. He then proposes banning all organizations on Ukrainian territory which call for violence in any form.

At 1105 GMT, after Yukhnovskyy's speech, the chairman announces a one hour break.

At 1205 GMT, the relay continues. Deputies return to the hall after the one hour break, and roll is taken—347 deputies are present.

Kravchuk addresses the deputies, saying that he was in favor of creating a committee for investigating oblast leaders' and officials' activity during the coup.

An unidentified deputy rises to condemn the actions of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, calling Presidium members a pack of hyenas. Kravchuk responds, forcing the deputy to apologize.

An unidentified deputy then suggests that the Ukrainian national flag should be hoisted over the parliament building and that deputies should then get down to examining draft resolutions and voting the issues discussed at the session.

An unidentified deputy then reads a draft resolution on the Ukraine's full independence, on making the USSR laws and the USSR Constitution invalid on Ukrainian territory, and on confirming the fact that the Ukrainian territory is indivisible. Several deputies oppose this resolution.

Kravchuk then suggests that opposition deputies, together with the majority, consult on this important issue during a one hour break, after which the deputies can vote on this resolution or enactment of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet. Kravchuk says it would be better to consult now and pass the resolution, rather than vote and fail to pass it.

At 1310 GMT, after Kravchuk's proposition, a one hour break is announced.

At 1410 GMT, the relay continues. Deputies return to the hall after the one hour break.

Kravchuk begins by addressing the deputies, saying that the UkSSR Supreme Soviet resolution on the Ukraine's complete independence and indivisibility of its territory has been adopted by the constitutional majority of 346 deputies. Loud applause can be heard in the hall.

The deputies propose to hoist the Ukrainian national flag above the parliament building.

At 1500 GMT, the decision is passed.

At 1507 GMT, an unidentified deputy proposes a vote on the issue of complete departyization of Ukrainian society and the sealing of the premises of the Ukrainian CPSU Central Committee.

An unidentified deputy tries to draw attention to the fact that the houses of those who are leaving the Central Committee will be searched.

Kravchuk then reads the draft resolution on departyization of the procurator's office, Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the KGB, before it is passed by the majority of 331 deputies.

At 1519 GMT, it is announced that the law comes into effect immediately.

At 1520 GMT, Deputy Zayets rises to speak, saying that, since the Supreme Soviet adopted a decision on departyization, the next step should be to adopt one on abolishing the Ukrainian Communist Party. He stresses that all Communist Party offices should be sealed and investigated down to the raykom level.

An unidentified deputy interjects, saying that the Ukrainian Communist Party did not participate in the putsch and that the matter should be deferred. Another deputy agrees.

At 1525 GMT, discussion begins on a draft decision to censure Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee members for alleged participation in the putsch. Prime Minister Fokin speaks from the rostrum, defending his behavior during the three days. On hearing about the junta's statement, he says he immediately returned to Kiev from a holiday spot, called a cabinet session, and condemned the mutiny. Laughter is heard rippling through the audience.

At 1530 GMT, the relay abruptly stops. The announcer reports the telephone line to the session was disconnected.

At 1535 GMT, the relay resumes with poor reception. Deputies propose discussions on draft decisions about army units deployed in the Ukraine, the rights of internal troops on its territory, and the Ukrainian national bank. The deputies also propose discussion on adopting laws making the Ukraine the subject of international law. It is then announced that the cabinet will be instructed to prepare draft decisions on these points.

A decision is then passed on subordinating all-Union enterprises in the Ukraine to its government immediately.

At 1545 GMT, deputies vote on and pass a resolution creating a Ukrainian national currency and taking necessary measures to make this currency convertible on the world market. Deputies also decide to vote again on the issue of abolishing all party structures and their organizations in state agencies, work collectives, and enterprises.

Deputy Les Tanyuk raises a question about the role of the mass media during the coup and the creation of a Ukrainian national radio and television corporation. After heated discussions, with many deputies opposing the adoption of the resolution on departyization, an appeal by a group of 20 deputies is read about their leaving the Communist Party. Applause follows. The vote on the issue of abolishing party structures and bodies in state and government bodies and work collectives is then postponed so that people's deputies can make up their minds during the break.

At 1640 GMT, Kravchuk announces a 30 minute break.

At 1715 GMT during the 30-minute break at the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet session theere is a brief report by an unidentified correspondent recapping events during the session. During the report, the correspondent notes that, although the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet adopted a decision on Ukrainian independence at today's session, the question will be finally decided at a national referendum in December.

He adds that deputies plan to continue discussing the question of departyization of work collectives and the mass media when the break ends and the session resumes.

At 1735 GMT, after the 30 minute break, the deputies return to the hall and take their seats.

Deputy Moroz reports that the commissions have reviewed the departyization question and propose the following formulation: Departyization must be carried out by work collectives themselves, and their decisions will be final and obligatory. The declaration is passed, with 371 deputies in favor.

Kravchuk then proposes a question on additional powers of the president, especially on dealing with military forces in the Ukraine. The proposal is passed, with 272 deputies in favor.

An unidentified deputy then rises to decry the formulation of the departyization question, saying it is weak and ineffective. Deputies shout him down.

At 1750 GMT, Kravchuk urges deputies to return to the subject of military units in Ukraine. He says that they must be subordinate to the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet. The proposal is passed, with 262 deputies in favor.

Kravchuk then reads an amendment to the decision on preserving all documents in party governing bodies at all levels to establish who participated in the putsch. Deputies reject this motion.

At 1755 GMT, after deputies fail to pass the resolution on sealing the premises of the party, KGB, and internal affairs ministry, Deputy Lubkivskyy proposes to bring the flag used by Ukrainians who defended the Russian parliament into the Ukrainian parliament and to hoist the Ukrainian national flag over the parliament building. Kravchuk comments, failing to support the proposal entirely.

An unidentified deputy then suggests that the Ukrainian parliament express gratitude to Yeltsin for his heroic behavior in defending the Russian parliament, which, he says, contributed greatly to today's declaration of the Ukraine's independence.

Deputies then welcome the Ukrainian national flag as it is brought into the parliament building. Some deputies raise the issue of political prisoners in the Ukraine, Stepan Khmara in particular. Kravchuk suggests that this issue be examined later as no documents connected with this matter were presented to the present session of parliament.

At 1810 GMT, Kravchuk closes the session, and the relay ends.

Yukhnovskyy Reviews Supreme Soviet Session

LD2608150491 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 0500 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Remarks by Ihor Rafailovych Yukhnovskyy, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (UkSSR) Supreme Soviet Presidium member, after the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet session in Kiev on 25 August—recorded]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] The Presidium passed a decision on the transfer of all Communist Party property to the ownership of soviets—that is, the property that belonged to the Secretariat and Central Committee of the CPSU now goes over to the republic's Supreme Soviet and that of local Communist Party organizations—to local soviets. In this regard, I would like to advise the Ukrainian people to watch this property. This property is abundant and of great value, and the people badly need it, especially the part comprised of mass information media and communication means. [passage omitted]

I'd also like to remind that the presidium will adopt tomorrow two important decisions. One of them will refer to ending Ukrainian Communist Party activities all over the republic until its part in the coup is investigated. A commission will be formed tomorrow for investigating the part played by all sorts of officials and organizations in the coup. Apart from this, departyization will be implemented. I would like to address the people with these words: We are creating a state suitable for people of all hues, for Communists and non-Communists. [passage omitted]

I wish to see this departure from Communism as a voluntary process. All people must remain in their workplaces and labor in the name of their homeland. The Ukraine must not be turned into a land for Ukrainians only. It must become a homeland for representatives of all nations that live on its territory. All of them will have the opportunity to develop their cultures freely. [passage omitted]

Today, a special decree of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium will be signed. In connection with the declaration of Ukrainian independence, the presidium will enact amnesty [words indistinct] for those that were wronged during the period of most acute confrontations for finding correct paths toward Ukrainian statehood. Thus, case No. 49/416 will be halted, and Stepan Khmara and all those accused with him will be freed in a few hours—that is, Khmara, Berezanskyy, Kovalchuk, Batovkin, Vorobyov, Ratushnyy, and Holovach. Apart from this, people, who were arrested for their struggle for Ukrainian independence, are detained in various prisons. They will also be freed today—that is, Lupynis, Serhiyenko and [name indistinct]. May I congratulate them with freedom. May I advise their friends and followers to go and meet them. But I would not advise storming the concerned prisons out of impatience. I assure you they will be free as soon as all the formalities are over. [passage omitted]

Supreme Soviet Seizes Control of Party Property

Seizure of Property Ordered

LD2608110591 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 0500 GMT 26 Aug 91

["Decision of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [UkSSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium on the Property of the Ukrainian Communist Party and the CPSU on Ukrainian Territory" issued by Ukrainian Supreme

Soviet Chairman Leonid Kravchuk in Kiev on 25 August—read by announcer]

[Text] In accordance with the decision of the Ukranian Soviet Socialist Repulic [UkSSR] Supreme Soviet adopted on 24 August 1991 on the political situation in the Ukraine and the urgent tasks of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet for preventing attempts at military coups, the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium resolves:

1. Until the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet adopts a decision deriving from the conclusions of the Supreme Soviet's commission for nationalizing the property of the CPSU and the all-Union Komsomol organization on Ukrainian territory, the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet places its responsibility over all possesions, buildings, transportation means and other property belonging to the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and the CPSU Central Committee that is located on Ukrainian territory.

2. The Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers, KGB, and Internal Affairs Ministry are responsible for guarding the premises, buildings, and property belonging to the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and the CPSU Central Committee.

3. The Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers and the executive committees of local soviets will have to ensure the buildings and property used by organizations of the Ukrainian Communist Party are guarded.

[Signed] UkSSR Supreme Soviet Chairman Leonid Kravchuk

[Dated] Kiev, 25 August 1991

Kiev City Council Seizes Party Property

LD2608173691 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 1745 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Excerpts] The Executive Committee of the Kiev City Council adopted a decision on taking control of the property of the CPSU and the Communist Party [CP] of Ukraine within the boundaries of the city of Kiev.

The decision envisages the city's control of all premises, property and other valuables that belonged to the CPSU and to the CP of the Ukraine. The action is to be carried out by the city's Interior Department with the participation of people's deputies. [passage omitted] All premises of rayon, city and oblast party committees and of the CP of the Ukraine Central Committee have been sealed. All bank accounts of these party structures will be frozen. All officials concerned have been warned that they will be held responsible for failing to comply with this decision. [passage omitted]

Documents exist to the effect that the CP of the Ukraine Central Committee dispatched information to all party committees on how party members had to behave during the coup. The main point of this instruction boiled down to the fact that all communists should support the emergency committee.

At the session of the city Executive Committee, Luchuk, procurator of Kiev, spoke:

[Begin Luchuk recording] The decision will be carried out today. We expect to find documents testifying that officials and party organs were accomplices in the military coup. We already have such documents, but we would like more. We will also try to prohibit the destruction of such documents. We have information that there have been attempts to seize safes in Lvov, but with no success. The culprits were officials of the Lvov oblast party committee. [passage omitted] We have copies of documents showing that Stanislav Hurenko distributed instructions to support the emergency committee. There are also copies of letters from managers of certain enterprises in Kiev advising on how to create power structures resembling the emergency committee.

Further on Control of Property

OW2608105591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1000 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Sunday the Presidium of the Ukrainian Parliament adopted a resolution to transfer all the property of the Ukrainian Communist Party [UCP] along with the CPSU property on Ukrainian territory to the republican parliament. Law-enforcing agencies were instructed to take steps to safeguard that property.

In connection with information that the leaders of the UCP were involved in organizing and supporting the coup the presidium ordered to draft a decree to suspend Communist Party activity on Ukrainian territory till all the circumstances are clarified. On Monday the draft decree will be submitted to the parliament's presidium.

On Sunday all offices of the UCP's Central Comittee in Kiev were sealed. The action went on with no excesses. The USSR flag was removed from the Central Committee building. The sealing of premises occupied by UCP committees in other localities of the Ukraine has begun. Those who inspected the building of the UCP committee in Kharkov discovered underground premises and secret passages connected with subway's communication lines.

As Igor Yukhnovskiy, leader of the parliamentary opposition and a member of the parliament's presidium told IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent, at the moment a decree is being drafted to cancel legal proceedings instituted in connection with confrontation between the various political groupings. Under the decree legal proceedings will be dropped against the Ukrainian People's Deputy Stepan Khmara and all those arrested together with him on charges of attacking police Colonel Grigoryev on November 7 last year.

Resolution Adopted Halting Communist Activity

OW2608182791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1700 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Presidium of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet has adopted a resolution halting the activity of the Ukrainian Communist Party on republican territory. This was provoked by the discovery of documents directly implicating the leadership of the Ukrainian Communist Party in the organisation of the coup d'etat.

The Presidium of the Ukrainian Parliament also recognised the independence of the three Baltic republics. It was decided that following negotiations between foreign policy representatives the question of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Ukraine and Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia would be decided.

Imprisioned People's Deputy Released

OW2608183291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1700 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The President of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, Leonid Kravchuk, has issued an amnesty decree following the republic's declaration of independence. The decree relates to all political prisoners against whom criminal proceedings were brought during the period of political confrontations by seperate militant groups. Peoples' Deputy Stepan Khmara, who had been accused of assaulting a police colonel during celebrations of the anniversary of the October revolution on 7 November 1990, has also been released and is no longer under guard.

Georgia

Russian Federation To Recognize Independence

OW2608183791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1700 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President of Georgia Zviad Gamsakhurdia told the parliament in Tbilisi Monday [26 August] that the day earlier Boris Yeltsin notified him by telephone that in a few days the Russian Federation would recognize Georgia's independence.

On Monday the Georgian Supreme Council recognized Estonia and Latvia as independent states. Also today the Georgian Supreme Council passed a law on the Georgian Council of Ministers. One of its points envisages the creation of the republican Defense Ministry. IF's [INTERFAX's] correspondent says that move will help ease tension in relations between President Zviad Gamsakhurdia and the republic's National Guard.

Currently, 1,000 members of the National Guard are at summer camps.

Republic Recognizes Estonian Independence

LD2608182191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1751 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] Tbilisi, 26 Aug (TASS)—The Republic of Georgia today recognized the independence of the Estonian Republic, reports SAKINFORM. A decree by the president of the Republic of Georgia says that in accordance with a decision of his Supreme Soviet, the Republic of Georgia recognizes the Estonian Republic as an independent state and a full subject under international law.

The Georgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been instructed to start talks with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Estonian Republic on establishing diplomatic relations.

The Republic of Georgia has appealed to all sovereign states to recognize the independence of the Estonian Republic.

Supreme Council Meets To Discuss Events

AU2608170491 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1300 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] The extraordinary meeting of the first session of the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council began its work today in Tbilisi.

Batoni [Georgian polite form of address] Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of the Republic of Georgia, delivered a report to the session concerning the first question on the agenda—on a resolution on the political evaluation of the events of 19 to 21 August 1991. Tedo Paatashvili, chairman of the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council Commission for Foreign Relations, and Deputies Nodar Natadze, Maya Machavariani, Guram Gverdtsiteli, Irakli (?Noashvili), Aleksandre Sushanishvili, Vazha Adamia, and Aslan Abashidze, chairman of the Adzharian Supreme Council, expressed their own thoughts and views on this question. Akaki Asatiani, chairman of the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council; Levon Aleksidze, chairman of the Georgian Supreme Council Legal Commission; and Deputy Roin Metreveli delivered speeches on the same question.

The Republic of Georgia Supreme Council gave an appropriate evaluation of the events that occurred in the Soviet Union on 19 to 21 August.

The deputies observed a minute's silence in honor of the memory of those who had died for the democratic movement in Russia during those days in August.

Then, the session discussed a law on the introduction of the Republic of Georgia Cabinet of Ministers and, in connection with this, the introduction of changes and amendments to the Republic of Georgia Constitution. Dzhoni Khevsuriani, minister of justice of the Republic of Georgia, delivered a speech on this subject. Following a sharp exchange of views, the deputies adopted the Law on the Introduction of the Republic of Georgia Cabinet of Ministers and, in connection with this, the Introduction of Changes and Amendments to the Republic of Georgia Constitution, the Law on the Republic of Georgia Cabinet of Ministers, and a resolution on the implementation of the Republic of Georgia Law on the Republic of Georgia Cabinet of Ministers.

The session also adopted a law on the introduction of changes and amendments to the Republic of Georgia Code of Criminal Procedure.

The session is continuing its work.

Halts Communist Activities

LD2608175191 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1536 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Report by N. Gongadze from extraordinary session of Republic of Georgia Supreme Soviet—from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Gongadze] The session's participants honored the memory of those who died in Moscow in the fight for freedom and democracy. The republic's President Zviad Gamsakhurdia, who then spoke, gave a high assessment of the victory of the democratic forces of Russia, led by Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] President Yeltsin, over the forces of reaction attempting to restore totalitarianism and communist hegemony. He noted that the period of the state of emergency was especially difficult for Georgia as the democratic forces and leadership of the republic were subjected to pressure both from the military and also from internal reaction in the form of the Georgian Communist Party and the oblast and town committees of Abkhazia and the former South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast, which openly backed the communist State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE] and made open attacks against the Georgian leadership. It is the majority view that the most correct decision taken by the president at the time was the decision to appeal to peoples and governments of Western countries calling for active support for all popularly elected presidents and their parliaments.

[Begin recording] [M. Omanidze, deputy of the Georgian Supreme Soviet] In meetings with the military, no compromise whatsoever was reached. When Zhuravlev stated that he had been given powers by the SCSE to announce to us that maneuvers of the Transcaucasian Military District were to be held here, the president immediately impeded this saying, you will hold no maneuvers on the territory of Georgia, and no tank, no APC, no soldier on patrol service will be appear, nor will any soldier take a step on the territory of Georgia. Such was his position, and he implemented it. [end recording]

[Gongadze] Today, basing itself on the decisions of the republic's Supreme Court, parliamentarians passed a resolution on the cessation of the activity of the Communist Party and all its bodies on the territory of Georgia. It has been decided to recognize the state independence of Estonia and to establish diplomatic relations with it. In an address to the President and Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR, the session proposes that the independence of Georgia be recognised and that, as a consequence, diplomatic relations be set up with it.

Suspends Powers of Communists

AU2708080191 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0200 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Excerpts] As we have informed you, the extraordinary meeting of the first session of the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council began its work today in Tbilisi. [passage omitted]

The session adopted addresses to the Supreme Councils of Estonia, Latvia, and the Ukraine in which it is stated that the Republic of Georgia recognizes their independence and congratulates the Estonian, Latvian, and Ukrainian peoples on their remarkable success in the struggle for independence.

The Republic of Georgia Supreme Council also sent a letter of congratulations to Batoni [Georgian polite form of address] Boris Yeltsin, the president of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, and its parliament. It is stated in the letter that the Georgian people heartily congratulates Russia's democratic forces on their great victory during the days of the putsch.

The extraordinary meeting of the first session of Republic of Georgia Supreme Council also discussed the activities of the Central Committee Bureau of the Georgian Communist Party, the republican committee of the Abkhaz Communist Party, and the rayon committee of the Communist Party of former South Ossetia and the self-proclaimed executive committee of the abolished soviet of people's deputies of so-called South Ossetia during the events that occurred in the Soviet Union on 19-21 August 1991. Nugzar Galoblishvili, Akaki Asatiani, Avtandil Margiani, Temuraz Gvantzeladze, Sergo Rigvava, Dzoni Khevsuriani, Levan Aleksidze, Avtandil Sakhvarelidze, and others delivered speeches at the session in connection with this question.

The session adopted a resolution on the suspension of the powers of people's deputies from the Georgian Communist Party.

The session adopted a resolution on the suspension of the powers of Konstantin Kapanadze and Sergo Rigvava as Communist deputies.

The Republic of Georgia Supreme Council adopted an address to the National Guard in which it is stated that members of the Guard should return to their own barracks. This address was read by Teymuraz Koridze, chairman of the Supreme Council Permanent Commission for Culture, Education, and Science.

With this, the extraordinary meeting of the first session of the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council of first convocation ended its work.

Gamsakhurdia's Reaction to Situation in Moscow

Writes Yeltsin on 'Lies'

AU2608154491 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Russian 1430 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Letter from Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of the Republic of Georgia, to Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, president of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR], dated in Tbilisi on 24 August]

[Text] As long as the CPSU, KGB, TASS, and similar organizations, along with the machines of lies, such as KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, and the like exist, your movement will not be able to prevail over the dark forces of the empire. Despite the fact that democracy has triumphed in the RSFSR, the [word indistinct] campaign of lies and slander against Georgia and its leadership continues. Specifically, they are misinforming the public by saying that I have disbanded the guard, and they are accusing me of an almost conciliatory attitude toward the putsch, whereas I, on the same day, exposed the putsch in my address to governments of Western countries in which I referred to it as a victory of reactionary forces and called upon them to support all the presidents and parliaments in the USSR that have been elected by the people. I gave several interviews, which were accounted for in all the Western press and television. Regarding the guard, it continues to exist, and you will soon receive complete information about it. I beg you not to believe such Komsomol gossip.

Yours cordially,

Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of the Republic of Georgia.

24 August 1991, Tbilisi.

Congratulates Yeltsin

PM2708120091 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Aug 91 Union Edition p 4

[IZVESTIYA correspondent B. Urigashvili report under the general heading: "Wave of Change Rises"]

[Text] Tbilisi—Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia has sent a message to Russian President B. Yeltsin and the extraordinary session of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet. Gamsakhurdia congratulated them on their victory and wished RSFSR democratic forces further successes.

The message says that on the first day of the putsch Yazov's deputy, Army General Zhuravlev, came to Georgia, issued the Georgian leadership with several ultimatums, and tried to flagrantly interfere in the republic's internal affairs. The military took control of the airport and the stations.

The Georgian president drew attention to the fact that the self-styled State Committee for the State of Emergency had the full backing of pro-centrist forces in Soviet Abkhazia and the self-styled authorities in so-called South Ossetia. The Georgian leadership—the president and parliament—did not deviate from their positions one bit; they did not recognize the State Committee for the State of Emergency and fully backed and still do back President Yeltsin and the RSFSR parliament, the message says. Zviad Gamsakhurdia expressed his condolences on behalf of the Georgian people in connection with the deaths of the defenders of liberty.

As is well known, the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau rushed to declare its support for the State Committee for the State of Emergency. Several Georgian parliamentary deputies from this party have called in the press for a plenum to be urgently convened and the self-dissolution of the Georgian Communist Party announced.

Interviewed on 'Stage Managed' Plot

PM2308122891 Paris LE FIGARO in French 23 Aug 91 p 4

[Interview with Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia by Eric Flandin—date and place not given]

[Text] [Flandin] In a communique issued yesterday, you express suspicions that this putsch was simply staged by some central leaders. Does its premature end support your accusation?

[Gamsakhurdia] I cannot be sure of what was really plotted. But look at the new prospects that this abortive putsch opens up for Gorbachev. This story gives him enormous credibility, great popularity. He now has a real chance of winning the USSR presidential elections. That is why I think it was specially stage managed to deceive the people. Why was Gdlyan, his personal enemy, the only one to be arrested on the committee's orders? Why not Yeltsin and the others? It is suspect.

[Flandin] Is the statement by Shevardnadze, who also expresses reservations about the real role played by Gorbachev in the coup d'etat, not likely to discredit the Soviet leader once and for all?

[Gamsakhurdia] Definitely not. Gorbachev's status is now equivalent to that of the Queen of England! And, moreover, he has increased support from the West with the real hope of increased economic aid to the USSR at the earliest opportunity. That is too good! But let us wait to see what happens to Yanayev. If they arrest him, subject him to a real trial, and execute him, I will believe in the putsch. If not or if, during his detention, he commits "suicide," or is struck down by a serious illness, the evidence of a staged coup will lead to the rapid disappearance of the existing "center." We will know that very quickly.

[Flandin] What future do you think the Union has, whatever happens to the existing Soviet Government? Would you now be prepared to sign a new Union Treaty?

[Gamsakhurdia] If there is a new treaty, we will study it. At all events, the abstraction that is the "Soviet Union" is disintegrating and that is a good thing. We are heading straight for full independence for all, I repeat all, the republics. Henceforth there will be no dictatorship from the "center," no longer any hard line imposed by the reactionary conservatives. We will witness the emergence of a kind of common market in the USSR with, at its head, a president with limited powers.

"It Is a Great Victory for Yeltsin"

[Flandin] What measure do you envisage for guaranteeing Georgia real independence? A wave of privatizations, your own currency, Georgian passports, embassies abroad?

[Gamsakhurdia] On this last point, we need recognition from the Western countries—diplomatic recognition. That ought to come quickly. We are busy creating our own currency. Give us a year. It will be called the Maneti, a Georgian name. Privatizations will primarily affect small businesses, stores, and so forth, not big enterprises or factories.

[Flandin] What about the privatization of land?

[Gamsakhurdia] It is starting.

[Flandin] But kolkhoz leaders are still very cautious. Peasants humorously refer to them as petty kings....

[Gamsakhurdia] That is true, but a number of kolhozes have been turned into state farms.

[Flandin] Do you mean "de-Sovietized," then rationalized into the property of the Georgian state?

[Gamsakhurdia] Precisely.

[Flandin] Can the Transcaucasian unity to which you aspire be achieved quickly?

[Gamsakhurdia] Of course! Our good relations with the other Caucasian republics are a factor of reconciliation and stability that is accelerating this process. I hope to see the Transcaucasus turned into a free-trade area.

[Flandin] A real democracy presupposes a structured opposition whose hands are free. Does the economic and social crisis currently assailing the USSR not threaten to act in favor of strong governments, with no sharing out?

[Gamsakhurdia] Order and discipline are necessary. In Georgia we have order, but opposition groups, too. A liberal group, but one whose program for liberalization in all directions would set us on a path to anarchy; the communist opposition, which in fact officially backed the coup; and even an armed criminal opposition.

[Flandin] In the autonomous region of South Ossetia, north of Tbilisi, the ethnic conflicts between the Ossetians and Georgians have intensified since the end of last year. Is this the status quo at the moment?

[Gamsakhurdia] The principal city, Tskhinvali is still in the hands of criminal gangs. They possess no legitimate power or authority. This movement, created by Soyuz, has driven all Georgians from the city. Furthermore, these extremist were pleased about Yanayev's coup d'etat. Their legitimacy depended on its success.

[Flandin] What future do you see for Gorbachev and Yeltsin?

[Gamsakhurdia] I am no prophet, but you must realize that Gorbachev will no longer constitute a real force in the USSR. As for Yeltsin, who some people wanted to destroy, this is his great victory day. A victory for him and for his political objectives, which I support.

Congratulates Estonia

LD2608084891 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1400 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Text] A telegram arrived today addressed to Arnold Ruutel, chairman of the Republic of Estonia Supreme Council; and Edgar Savisaar, chairman of the Republic of Estonia government; from Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of the Republic of Georgia. The telegram requests that ardent congratulations be accepted from the Georgian leadership and the whole people on the occasion of Russia recognizing Estonia's independence as a state.

Confers With Military Commander

PM2308134791 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Aug 91 Single Edition p 2

[Colonel V. Kaushanskiy report: "Unsubstantiated Reproaches"]

[Text] The second edition of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA on 21 August carried our correspondent's report on a meeting between Colonel General V. Patrikeyev, commander of the Transcaucasus Military District, and President Z. Gamsakhurdia of the Republic of Georgia, during which measures were formulated to normalize the situation in the region and to prevent passions from becoming inflamed—which, in the conditions of the complex situation in the country, could have led to unpredictable consequences. Such working contacts between the military leadership and the president of the republic and his administration are the normal practice of civilized relations, a good stabilizing means, and an indicator of political common sense.

However, the very fact that the meeting was held displeased certain opposition circles, which almost accused the president of Georgia of having a compact with the military and of making concessions that supposedly could harm national sovereignty. In this connection the president of the republic deemed it necessary to emphasize that the decision to reorganize the internal troops—the national guard—was adopted by the leadership of Georgia even before the creation of the crisis situation in the country and was in no way linked with the tragic events of recent days.

Presidential Decree on Military Commissariats

AU2608180591 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 16 Aug 91 p 1

["Decree of the President of the Republic of Georgia on the Military Commissariats of the USSR Ministry of Defense Existing on the Territory of the Republic of Georgia"; issued in Tbilisi on 10 Aug 91]

[Text] In accordance with existing legislation, the Military Commissariat of the Republic of Georgia and the rayon and city military commissariats that are subordinate to it represent local organs of the military administration of the USSR Ministry of Defense. Their purpose is to train and call up conscripts for compulsory military service, register reserve personnel with a military service obligation, and to establish and train mobilized reserves and others. The commissariats serve the Soviet Army and their activities are implemented in accordance with the plans and tasks received from the USSR Ministry of Defense.

Proceeding from this, the currently existing so-called "military commissariats of the Republic of Georgia" correspond neither in form nor content to the present interests of the sovereign Republic of Georgia. The organs of the Soviet Army that are located in Georgia, in particular, those of the Transcaucasian Military District, are fully subordinate to the instructions and orders of the USSR Ministry of Defense.

On the basis of the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council Resolution of 29 January on "the Call-up of Conscripts to the Internal Troops of the Republic of Georgia National Guard in 1991," and the Republic of Georgia Government resolutions No. 239 of 27 March 1991 and No. 505 of 26 June 1991, conscription boards and military sectors have been created within the prefectures of the towns and rayons of the Republic of Georgia and within the Assemblies of the rayons of the city of Tbilisi that fulfill the functions of the existing military commissariats.

Therefore, the military commissariats of the USSR Ministry of Defense are deprived of the functions of training and calling up conscripts. Their activity is limited only to calling up conscripts who have expressed the wish to serve in the ranks of the Soviet Army. To all intents and purposes, it is only the pension service department of the USSR Ministry of Defense that is functioning in these commissariats.

Attention should be drawn to the fact that registration forms, the personal records of conscripts, and mobilization documents and plans have been transferred from the military commissariats to military units so that these documents cannot serve the interests of the defense of the Republic of Georgia.

On the basis of the aforementioned and proceeding from the Republic of Georgia Law of 15 November 1990 on the Suspension on the Territory of the Republic of Georgia of the USSR Law on "Compulsory Military Service" and the Act on the Restoration of the State Independence of Georgia that was proclaimed on 9 April 1991, I decree:

1. In view of the fact that, according to existing legislation, the Military Commissariat of the Republic of Georgia represents a military establishment of the USSR Ministry of Defense and does not come under the jurisdiction of the Republic of Georgia, to consider the name "Military Commissariat of the Republic of Georgia" to be incorrect.

In accordance with this, to change the inscriptions on the signs of the aforementioned military commissariats, and on the stamps and other objects of their local organs.

2. The Republic of Georgia Government resolve within one month the question of the expediency of allocating in the future buildings and material resources to the military commissariats of the USSR Ministry of Defense existing on the territory of the Republic of Georgia.

[Signed] Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of the Republic of Georgia

[Date] Tbilisi, 10 August 1991.

Presidential Decree Appoints New Tbilisi Mayor

AU2608173091 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 15 Aug 91 p 1

[Text] Decree of the President of the Republic of Georgia on the Appointment of I.O. Andriadze as Mayor of the City of Tbilisi.

To appoint Irakliy Onisimovich Andriadze as mayor of the city of Tbilisi.

[Signed] Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of the Republic of Georgia

Tbilisi, 12 August 1991.

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2 Aug Supreme Council Meeting Reported

AU2608173691 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 3 Aug 91 p 1

[Sakinform report: "The Session of the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council"]

[Text] On 2 August, the regular meeting of the first session of the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council of the first convocation took place; it was conducted by Akaki Asatiani, chairman of the Supreme Council.

Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of the Republic of Georgia, members of the government, and prefects from the republic's towns and rayons participated in the session.

Before questions on the agenda were addressed, a statement was made at the session on behalf of the All-Georgian Merab Kostava Society concerning the activities of the Supreme Council and its chairman.

The Supreme Council discussed and adopted a package of laws of the Republic of Georgia: on the national bank; on monetary and credit regulation; on banks and banking activity in the republic; and a resolution on their implementation. Then, the deputies examined the Republic of Georgia Bill on the Press and Other Mass Media and adopted it in its second reading. Republic of Georgia laws on citizens' political associations and on the privatization of state enterprises in the republic were adopted in their first reading.

The Law on the Introduction of Changes to the Republic of Georgia Criminal Code and a resolution on its implementation were adopted at the session.

The members of parliament adopted a decision to suspend the resolution of the Abkhaz Autonomous Soviet

Socialist Republic on the central bank of this autonomous republic and on banking relations and appealed to the president of the Republic of Georgia to support this decision.

A resolution of the Supreme Council was adopted on the organization of state power and administration in Dzhava rayon and Tskhinvali.

The Supreme Council adopted a law on the introduction of changes and amendments to the Law on the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council Elections and a resolution on postponing the elections of Republic of Georgia Supreme Council deputies in the Signakhi and Mestiya Electoral Districts.

Supreme Council resolutions were adopted on the recognition of the powers of Nodar Tsuleyskiri and Arkadi Markoziya as deputies. The powers of Tengiz Kitovani and Iosif Baratashvili and also Shalva Tsintsalashvili as members of the Supreme Council were suspended.

The Supreme Council supported the decision of the Government on the transfer to Georgian jurisdiction of installations subordinate to the Transcaucasian territorial administration of strategic material reserves.

Individual questions concerning the sociopolitical and socioeconomic life of the republic were raised in the section "any other business."

Several questions that were on the agenda were deferred.

Armenia

Ter-Petrosyan Comments on Independence Issues

LD2608172591 Moscow TASS in English 1620 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 26 TASS—The leadership of Armenia is favouring the republic's full independence as before, provided economic relations with all other republics remain intact, chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet Levon Ter-Petrosyan told TASS.

He recalled that a republican referendum on Armenia's attitude to the new Union treaty was scheduled for September 21 and said that if before the coup forecasts said 70 per cent of referendum participants were likely to favour the withdrawal from the Soviet Union, now 95 per cent were expected to vote in favour of the move, because after these events the Armenian people became convinced that there was no point in linking their fate with that of the Union.

There are no visible changes in relations between Armenia and Azerbaijan, Ter-Petrosyan said. He expressed hope that President Mikhail Gorbachev will henceforth approach this problem with greater impartiality than before. "Until now he has always sided with Azerbaijan because Azerbaijan was Mikhail Gorbachev's most loyal ally supporting the communist regime, and he regarded Armenians as separatists".

Legislature Demands Return of KGB Material

PM2608140991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Aug 91 Union Edition p 4

[Report by correspondent S. Bablumyan under the general heading "Wave of Change Rises"]

[Text] Yerevan—Levon Ter-Petrosyan, chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet, has voiced the hope that most of Armenia's communists will resolutely raise the question of their organization's self-cleansing and self-disbandment and the creation of a new party based on a different ideology.

The republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium has also decided to demand that USSR KGB Chairman Vadim Bakatin return archive and current Armenian KGB material that was taken to Smolensk in the spring of 1990. IZVESTIYA was told by Major General Usik Arutyunyan, chairman of the republic's KGB, that the complex political situation at the time and the threat of an attack on the KGB building was the reason the archive materials were taken away. U. Arutyunyan also noted that frequent suggestions that the former USSR KGB leadership return the archives had produced no positive result. My interlocutor also said that archive material was removed from the republic's KGB to Moldova, the Baltics, and certain other republics in the country.

Pan-National Movement To Hold Congress 27 Aug

NC2508144191 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1300 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Text] The Armenian Pan-National Movement will hold its 3d extraordinary congress on 27 August at the Tsitsernakaberd sports complex.

Armenian Law on Religion

91US0625B

For this law published in the 28 June 1991 GOLOS ARMENII, see the FBIS Report Soviet Union: Republic Affairs, FBIS-USR-91-016, dated 23 July 1991, pp 14-16.

Azerbaijan

Kafarova Supports Idea of Confederation

OW2608210691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2000 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The President of the Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet, Elmira Kafarova, has supported President Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan's idea of uniting within the Union on a confederative basis.

Kafarova assured the Union parliament that during the putsch the Azerbaijani leadership supported the constitutional organs of power. She described accusations to the contrary as "downright provocation" and said that the intentions of those who made such allegations was to drive Azerbaijan back into chaos.

Aliyev Wants Supreme Soviet Session; Rally Held

LD2708035191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0000 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] [Correspondent Azer Khalilov, reporting from Baku] It has been learned that Geydar Aliyev, former member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and leader of Azerbaijan, who left the ranks of the Communist Party a month before the Moscow events, in a letter has asked the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet Presidium to urgently convene an extraordinary session of the republic's parliament to work out an objective assessment of the position and activity of the Azerbaijani leadership in the days of the coup by the so-called SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency].

In his opinion, the second question at the session should be that of removing the Communist Party of Azerbaijan from monopoly leadership of the republic, as being a component part of the CPSU that collaborated with the military junta. Geydar Aliyev backs this up by saying that in the very first days of the coup the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee received instructions for implementation from the leadership of the CPSU Central Committee and the SCSE. In view of these circumstances, he proposes suspending the newspapers KOMMUNIST, BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY, and VYSHKA, which published the documents of the SCSE.

Apart from this, Geydar Aliyev considers it necessary to openly name the persons responsible for the January 1990 slaughter in Baku, which took the lives of 200 persons. The letter says the 22 January 1990 resolution of the republic Supreme Soviet lifting the illegally declared emergency in Baku should be implemented. In conclusion, Geydar Aliyev calls for the presidential elections in the republic planned for 8 September to be suspended until full elucidation and resolution of all the questions he has raised.

Incidentally, news has come from some of the mass media that the Lenin monument is being destroyed in Baku on the same square where a meeting of the democratic forces is being planned. I was told at the People's Front of Azerbaijan headquarters that the monument was being dismantled by the official authorities of the city, and no opposition was being made to this act. [passage indistinct]

Azer Khalilov, for the news service of Russia's Radio.

[Announcer] Those taking part in a meeting in Baku on Monday of republic democratic forces demanded the convening on 27 August of an extraordinary session of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet. Taking part in the meeting, according to existing assessments, were several tens of thousands of persons. The holding of the session, according to those rallying, is necessary for adopting a new law on the elections—both parliamentary and presidential. The meeting was attended by the heads of the Democratic Movement, the leadership of the People's Front, the republic Supreme Soviet deputy chairman and chairman of the Medzhlis, (Temirlan Garayev). Unless an extraordinary session is convened on Tuesday, the organizers of the meeting say a general republican strike will begin on Wednesday.

Calls For 'Emergency Session'

OW2408183791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1630 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Former leader of the Azerbaijani Communist Party, people's deputy of Azerbaijan Geydar Aliyev has urged to call an emergency session of the Azerbaijani parliament to discuss the republican leadership's position during the recent coup d'etat. [sentence as published]

In his statement sent to the parliament Mr. Aliyev demanded that an objective evaluation of the republican Communist Party leader, President Ayaz Mutalibov's actions during the coup be made.

Mr. Aliyev also suggested that the emergency session consider the liquidation of the Communist Party's monopoly on power and its responsibility for cooperation with the plotters.

Mr. Aliyev believes the session should delay presidential election scheduled for September 8 until all questions concerning the republican leadership's involvement in the coup are cleared up.

Criticizes Coup Attempt

OW2408165091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1500 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Geydar Aliyev, former CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and former Azerbaijan Communist Party leader, criticized the coup attempt staged by the Emergency Committee. In an interview with INTERFAX he expressed his "great admiration" for the performance of the Russian parliament, Russian President Boris Yeltsin, the Muscovites and Leningraders and all democratic-minded individuals who had ensured the victory over the coup leaders.

Asked about what caused the dispersal of the opposition rally in Baku on Friday, Aliyev said that the communist party dictatorship continued in Azerbaijan and all democratic processes were suppressed. For over two years the republic has been under an emergency rule, a tool for the suppression of democracy and pluralism, he said. The dispersal of the rally organized by the Azerbaijan Popular Front was "the continuation of the dictatorship that is assuming an extremely ugly character," said Aliyev.

Aliyev lashed out against the Azeri President Ayaz Mutalibov who had supported the Emergency Committee in a republican TV appearance on August 21.

Situation in Baku 'Worsened,' Clashes Noted

LD2508152991 Berlin ADN in German
1448 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Excerpt] Moscow (ADN)—Following serious clashes between militia units and demonstrators last Friday, the situation in the Azerbaijan capital Baku worsened again today. The RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY reported that the People's Front of the republic called for a mass demonstration this afternoon to support the democratic process in the Soviet Union. It particularly demands the lifting of the state of emergency under which Baku was put in January last year, the convening of a special session of the Azerbaijan Parliament, and the suspension of the election campaign for the presidential elections in September. [passage omitted]

Military Warning Issued

OW2608152991 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1400 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Baku's military commandant Valeriy Buniyadov has charged the opposition, particularly Azerbaijan's Popular Front, with seeking to aggravate tensions in the republic amid talk on democracy and openness, find errors in the policy of the republic's leaders and cast slurs on them.

Speaking on republican TV on Sunday, V. Buniyadov qualified the Front's call for staging meeting in Baku at 18:00 on Monday as deliberate incitement to illegal actions in defiance of the state of emergency imposed in the city.

Referring to "the working people's appeals" to restore law and order in the city, Baku's military commandant declared that if unauthorized actions take place, he'll use every means at his disposal to stop them.

'Thousands' Rally

LD2608193491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1815 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] Baku, 26 Aug (TASS)—Thousands of Baku residents today took part in a rally at the central "Azadlyg" square of Azerbaijan's capital. Held on the initiative of the "Independent Azerbaijan" Parliamentary deputies' group and the People's Front of Azerbaijan, it was called in support of the victory of democratic forces of the country.

Those gathered held a minute's silence to honor the memory of those who died in Baku in the tragic January of 1990, in Nagorno-Karabakh and the areas of Azerbaijan adjacent to Armenia during the interethnic conflict, and also those who died during the recent events in Moscow.

Speakers at the rally came out in support of democratic transformations in the country and demanded that the state of emergency in Baku be lifted, that Azerbaijan's independence be declared, that the elections for president of the republic be suspended, that Azerbaijan's parliament be dissolved, and that fresh elections to the republican Supreme Soviet be held on a multiparty basis.

AZERINFORM Statement on Mutalibov

NC2708091491 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri
1700 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Text] Due to the rumors related to the situation in Azerbaijan, AZERINFORM has been assigned to make the following statement:

The attempt to overthrow the administration in the Soviet Union has been blocked. Also blocked were the totalitarian results of this change. Democracy has prevailed. The new way of thinking in a very large section of the Soviet people has been victorious.

Azerbaijan and its leaders, nevertheless, have become the target of attacks, as has happened at difficult times in the crisis during the past few years. Using inflaming intrigues, separatist forces have tried to prevent Azerbaijan from working with the central authorities and the other republics. The latest reports—reports local and foreign media organs have circulated in the USSR, which have been used by the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] parliament during the [word indistinct] days in Moscow—are totally fabricated, clearly proving that a new campaign has been launched against Azerbaijan. This time, President Ayaz Mutalibov of the sovereign Azerbaijan Republic has been selected as a target. The Soviet people and the people of Azerbaijan have been told that Mutalibov made statements while in Iran welcoming the ousting of Mikhael Gorbachev. This fabrication was conveyed to TASS by foreign media organs and used by the Armenian lobby in the RSFSR parliament.

The spreading of this information shed light on who generated this fabrication. Had an extraordinary situation not existed at the time and had [word indistinct] not led to dangerous results, it would have been possible to avoid focusing attention on this provocation.

It is quite clear that the republic's people and citizens should carefully consider the disclosures made by the republic's leaders. It is common knowledge that President Mutalibov was on an official visit to Iran when the incidents occurred in the Soviet Union. In the replies he gave to questions asked by journalists, questions that would normally be asked in that situation, Mutalibov explained that commenting on the incidents without the proper information would be difficult, noting that the situation was tense, complex, and serious. However, the strength attained by the democratic programs have guaranteed the maintenance of the progress made toward the new objective in social life. This was the essence of what President Mutalibov said, views he has discussed at various times in the past. Since he was elected as the first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee and as the president of Azerbaijan, Mutalibov has not concealed his views on many of the aspects of the policy pursued by the central authorities. In fact, he made it known that he objected to the inconsistent and unwise policy adopted on the Nagorno-Karabakh [NKAO] problem, saying also that he was angered by the opportunity given to separatist and nationalist activities.

His stand was in complete accordance with the policy maintained by the country's renowned democratic and political officials, including Boris Yeltsin, who is a strong supporter of the principle of the inviolability of the interrepublic borders. Was it not because of the compatibility of the stands of these officials that Armenian separatists have felt uneasy? Was it not because of this that they have been trying to create discord between Azerbaijan and democratic Russia? This old tactic is still being employed.

Studying the official records of the visit will confirm what President Mutalibov, in fact, did say in Iran. He conveyed a message from President Mikhael Gorbachev to President Hashemi-Rafsanjani that pleased the latter. The Iranian president asked President Mutalibov to inform Mikhael Gorbachev that the Iranian people expect him to visit Iran. All these events were reported in detail by TASS.

None of the illegal extraordinary committee's demands were put into effect in Azerbaijan. All the opposition press organs maintained their work. All the social and political movements and organizations continued to function. The people acted with caution and did not allow themselves to be carried away by the horrible rumors and the provocative activities.

The objective of this new instigation is quite clear: To create discord among the people to use the tension and confusion created within the republic to pave the ground for renewed attacks on the NKAO by the Armenian nationalists. This fact has been confirmed. Fire was exchanged on the Armenian-Azerbaijani border, and Armenian terrorists launched a new attack on the NKAO immediately following the provocative speech made by deputy Ambarsunov in the RSFSR parliament.

[Word indistinct] exists in this new campaign. The campaign is directed against Ayaz Mutalibov, who is the first president of the Azerbaijan Republic. In the meantime, Armenian separatists and nationalists, who use terrorism as a means to realize state policy, have also drawn up similar plots against all the Azerbaijani leaders. They have not been able to forgive the consistent and determined stand of the Azerbaijani leaders on the question of safeguarding Azerbaijan's national interests, particularly Azerbaijan's territorial integrity.

Positive developments take place during social reforms [words indistinct]. A hostile and dangerous sword has been drawn against Azerbaijan. Everyone is urged to act with prudence. The everlasting national concepts and interests can only be safeguarded through unity and solidarity.

Decision Adopted To Reestablish Bakhramly

NC2608103191 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] The Azerbaijan Republic Council of Ministers has examined an appeal by the Amirallar People's Deputies Soviet in Martuninskiy Rayon and the proposals by the Nagrono-Karabakh Organization Committee and the Azerbaijan Ministry of Agriculture and Food to reestablish Bakhramly town, which was forcibly dissolved. The decision adopted called for allocating 10 hectares of land from the Lenin Collective Farm in Martuninskiy Rayon for the restoration of Bakhramly town.

Kazakhstan

Nazarbayev Opposes 'Troglodytic Anti-Communism'

LD2508194291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 25 Aug 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] An extraordinary session of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet, held on 24 August, considered the matter of introducing amendments and additions to the Constitution of the Kazakh SSR. Nazarbayev, president of the Republic, spoke at it. [video shows Nazarbayev addressing session and assembled deputies]

[Begin Nazarbayev recording] I implore you, as we arrive in local areas, we should not descend to troglodytic anti-Communism and obscurantism in this regard. Any human being, if we apply pressure in this manner, will react the same, only from the left. What kind of democracy is it when only I am right, and all the others are wrong? Before, it was the Communist Party alone which was right and everyone was wrong.

Very many people will be found in local areas—I'll be straight—there are many dishonest ones among them, who want to come to the surface and pose as heroes. We must not give in. The most sacred thing which we have in the multinational republic is our unity and our interrelations. Thus, when I left the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and the Central Committee, I was thinking first and foremost of preserving the Communist Party—reformed, independent, and perhaps with a different name. I was thinking of rank-and-file honest Communists who are in no way involved in this. Let us not run from one extreme to the other. [end recording]

Nazarbayev Fears Wars if Borders Revised

OW2708131091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1030 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Talking with newsmen at the Kazakh mission following Monday's Supreme Soviet session President Nursultan Nazarbayev thanked the U.S. President George Bush for having supported the stand taken by Kazakhstan during the abortive coup. He said: "President Bush heard my statement of August 20 which for some reason failed to be heard here, in the USSR."

According to N. Nazarbayev, the stand taken by Kazakhstan "altered the balance of forces and made the conspirators think twice." He stressed however that this in no way diminishes the enormous role in the victory over the plotters played by B. Yeltsin, Russia's parliament and the Muscovites.

According to N. Nazarbayev, the victory over the plotters should be used to achieve consolidation in the country. In this connection he repeated his suggestion that the leaders of 15 republics should gather in Alma-Ata for a conference on economic issues and expressed hope that this will bring success.

Nursultan Nazarbayev called for replacing the country's government by a united economic council consisting of representatives from all republics. In this case no republic would be suspicious of the center. He suggested that the proposed council should be led by some of the well-known republican figures, such as V. Fokin, or V. Kebich, or K. Prunskiene.

Nazarbayev called for recognizing political independence of all republics. In 2 or 3 years, he said, economic necessities will force us to form a sound federation suiting everyone. But the need to form it should be realized by all.

Nursultan Nazarbayev opposed the proposal of Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation, made, according to the Kazakh president, on August 23 at a meeting held by the Federation Council as to the need to give Russia the right to appoint its own representatives to such posts as defence minister, foreign minister, interior minister and KGB chief. According to Nazarbayev, this would make republics distrustful of the Russian Federation, and then Russia, instead of playing an essential role in uniting repulics, would have the opposite result.

In answer to a question from IF's [INTERFAX's] correspondent Vyacheslav Terekhov the president of Kazakhstan said he feared that wars might flare up between republics if Russia "raises the question of revising borders".

On Monday B. Yeltsin's press secretary Pavel Voshanov declared on behalf of Russia's president that the Russian Federation reserves the right to raise the issue of revising its borders with adjoining republics if "allied relations" cease to exist.

Communist Party Accedes to Departyization

OW2308161491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1426 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Politburo of Kazakhstan's Communist Party held a conference on Thursday and recognized as lawful President Nursultan Nazarbayev's decree on disbanding party cells at prosecutor's offices, security and law-enforcement agencies, customs offices and courts of law. According to IF's [INTERFAX's] correspondent, participants in the conference said: The abortive coup "convincingly proved how important it is for the judiciary and law- enforcers to be guided in their work strictly by constitutional provisions and laws". The Politburo of Kazakhstan's Communist Party recommended party committees and party locals to conduct corresponding explanatory and organizational work among their members. The same day the leaders of Kazakhstan's Communist Party published a statement on the role played by the CPSU's Politburo in the developments of August 19-21. The documents forwarded by the Central Committee of the CPSU in the period in question, the statement says, "irrefutably prove that the Secretariat of the CPSU's Central Committee backed the actions and orders of the so- called state-of-emergency committee. These actions were enormously detrimental to the party and to the endeavours of grassroots communists to build a state ruled by law and accomplish political and economic reforms". The Politburo of Kazakhstan's Communist Party suggested that the Central Committee of the CPSU convene for a plenum urgently to review the present situation in the party and state its statement points to the need to conduct "careful investigations into the role played by communists and members of the CPSU's Central Committee in the latest events".

Status of Unit Commander in Kazakhstan Clarified

PM2508133591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Aug 91 First Edition p 5

[Colonel A. Ladin report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Partial Departyization in Kazakhstan"]

[Excerpt] Alma-Ata—[passage omitted] The Kazakh SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Presidential Press Service refuted a report by Russian Television's "Vesti" news service that Lieutenant General A. Ryabtsev, commander of a combined unit deployed on Kazakhstan's territory, has not been included on the Security Council because he had supposedly supported the so-called State Committee for the State of Emergency. The Press Service declared that this Russian Television report is based on fabrication. In actual fact, Lt. Gen. A. Rybatsev is member of the Committee for the Protection of the Constitutional System, created as part of the Kazakh SSR Security Council's structure.

Kyrgyzstan

President Releases Documents on Party's Roll

LD2508095191 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1530 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Text] Kyrgyz President Akayev held a news conference in Bishkek today. The leadership's firm and principled position prevented the state of emergency from being implemented. Akayev made public documents testifying to the unseemly role during the coup of the politburo of the Communist Party of Kyrgyzstan, which received instructions to support the coup plotters from the CPSU Central Committee.

Favors Dissolution of CPSU

OW2608142291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1245 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President of Kyrgyzstan Askar Akayev told a session of the Kyrgyz Supreme Council that it were democrats who "have broken the backbone of totalitarianism". He spoke in favor of radical reform of power in this country. As Mr. Akayev put it, "the system of Soviets is both an ideological and practical anachronism". He proposed to create instead a system of municipalities and prefectures.

Speaking about the CPSU, Mr. Akayev pointed out that, in essence, it had never been a really political party. It was a party which penetrated all spheres of our society. In his words, the CPSU operated like "a reactionary religious order of the Middle Ages."

Said Mr. Akayev: "The CPSU is posing a threat not only to us, but also to the international community as a whole." He believes it has become clear that the CPSU should dissolve itself as the last stronghold of totalitarianism in this country.

Mr. Akayev also suggested that the present Union parliament be dismissed since it has proved unable to determine its attitude toward the coup. He called Anatoly Lukyanov "an example of perfidy and hypocrisy".

President Akayev favors reviewing the Union treaty and giving more rights to the Union republics.

He also suggested that the republics and the center conclude agreements on military questions, on borders, as well as on guarantees of righs of national minorities living in the states which will make up a new Union.

Party Faces Charges on Coup

LD2508185191 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1530 GMT 25 Aug 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A rally of townspeople in the central square of Bishkek called by the Democratic Movement of Kyrgyzstan was devoted to the lessons of the coup. Taking part in it were the Slavyanskiy Fund and other public associations, and the vice president and prime minister of the republic. The heads of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kyrgyzstan refused the invitation. Rallies are the last thing they want to get involved in: they were the only social and public force in the republic supporting the plot, which naturally gave rise to anger and indignation among the people.

On 21 August Askar Akayev, president of the republic, issued a decree on departyization, followed by a decree on handing over the buildings occupied by the Central Committee apparatus and the branch of the Lenin Museum in Bishkek to republican ownership, in order to house in it a national cultural center and create a Palace of the Friendship of Peoples here.

[Video shows rally, including young people wearing headbands, placards in vernacular and Russian, then cuts to show imposing white building]

This sumptuous building is only the visible, white marble, part of an imposing construction. A large part lies underground hidden from sight. This whole complex, plus all it is stuffed with, cost a pretty penny, part of it from the republican budget. But it is typical that so far even official bodies of power have not yet managed to get accurate figures. One can assume that we are talking of 25-30 million Rubles. The people of the republic, including many communists, are demanding the resignation of the complete membership of the Bureau of the Central Committee. On Saturday evening a plenum of the Central Committee was called. We shall inform you of its decisions later.

Meanwhile, departyization has started in the republic. Even before Akayev's decree it had been carried out by the Ministries of Justice and of Internal Affairs. Party committees were withdrawn also from the president's staff, the KGB, and the state radio and television company.

Criminal charges have been instituted against the Bureau of the Central Committee of the republic's Communist Party on the basis of its public call for cooperation with the State Commission for the State of Emergency.

At a press conference on 24 august, Askar Akayev said on his return from the Council of the Federation that, with recent events in mind, it is essential to make serious changes in the Union treaty, strengthening the authority of the republics, including in the formation of leading cadres of the country.

Criminal Proceedings Against Party

LD2608102291 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1500 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Report by Bishkek correspondent (Talland Dzhumabayev)]

[Text] The Republic of Kyrgyzstan's procuracy began criminal proceedings on the Kyrgyz Communist Party Bureau's support for the military coup. On 19 August, the Bureau called on all republican residents to support the emergency committee. This was on the same day that President Akayev, despite pressure from the USSR KGB and Fuzhenko, commander of the Turkestan military district, made a statement about defending the sovereignty of the republic, that Internal Affairs Ministry staff were the issued with weapons, that aiports were sealed off, and that military units put the mass media under guard. Incidentally, as soon as information arrived from Russian radio and television, Kyrgyzia was alone in the region in putting Yeltsin's appeals and decrees on the air every two hours, along with other material, teleprinter material from KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, for example.

On the night of 19-20 August, Akayev removed from his post the republican KGB chairman, who was prepared to carry out all of Kryuchkov's instruction. On the next day—20 August—contact was being established with the leaders of the country's republics and with the Russian government. The putschists' instructions were not completed. Kryuchkov's representatives arrived in Bishkek, trying to influence the course of events. Commander Fuzhenko and (Lukyanov), head of the garrison, threatened to put military hardware into the capital. Akayev issued a decree forbidding any maneuvres of military hardware. Overnight, he signed an appeal which called the events in the country an anticonstitutional coup. He was supported by Supreme Soviet Chairman Sherimkulov. Regular contact with the Russian government was established during the day.

Outwardly, nothing changed in the republic over the two days. There were no excesses. The overwhelming majority of residents, the state and public organizations and enterprises, the internal affair ministry and KGB supported Akayev. On the morning of 21 August, it became clear that the situation in the republic was fully under control. Akayev signed a decree on departyization. Throughout these days, the Kyrgyz Communist Party leadership was constantly informing the CPSU Central Committee about the situation in the republic. In another leadership, that of the KGB, 40 staff have stated they are leaving the CPSU. The internal affairs ministry and the justice ministry did so even before the putsch. Two newspapers have announced they will no longer be under party control. Communists who are part of leading bodies have demanded the resignation of the whole Central Committee. A Central Committee plenum has begun. Finally, the process of Communists' leaving the CPSU has intensified in the republic.

Communists To Call Party Session

LD2508142191 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1200 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Text] Our correspondent has reported from Bishkek: There has been a plenum of the Central Committee of the Kyrgyz Communist Party, which was called in connection with the statement of the Central Committee Bureau in support of the plotters who attempted a state coup on 19 August. Having accepted the resignation of the leadership of the republican party organization, the plenum ordered the dissolution of the apparat of the Central Committee, and the creation of an organizational committee to summon an extraordinary session of the Communist Party of Kyrgyzstan.

Party Plenum Dismisses Staff

LD2608112791 Moscow TASS in English 1105 GMT 26 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Boris Mainayev]

[Text] Bishkek August 26 TASS—The plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kyrgyzia dismissed the whole staff of the Party's Central Committee and Secretariat on August 24. The plenum also decided to hold an extraordinary party congress in November.

Before the anticonstitutional putsch, the Kyrgyz Communist Party was the largest and most influential political force in the republic. However, the statement made by the republic's Communist leaders about their support for the coup organisers caused keen negative reaction among the people. Some of the Communists are leaving the party. Although this process did not become widespread in the republic yet, the decline of the Communist Party's popularity appears to be inevitable.

President Akayev's Anticoup Actions Reported

PM2308144191 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 23 Aug 91 p 1

["Our Correspondent" K. Bayalinov report: "Everything Calm in Bishkek..."]

[Text] More details of the scale of the coup d'etat are becoming known. The plotters planned that representatives of the State Committee for the State of Emergency would replace progressive leaders in a number of republics, including Kyrgyzstan.

On the night of 18-19 August military helicopters buzzed President Askar Akayev's residence. After Yanayev's statement, Akayev was telephoned by General Fuzhenko, commander of the Turkestan Military District, who threatened to bring his tanks and troops into the republic if the president did not remove the reinforced OMON [special purpose militia detachment] posts. In the morning of the coup, a group of leading Kyrgyz Communist Party officials discussed means of deposing President Akayev. The chairman of the Kyrgyz KGB knew about this sitting but did not inform the president. Then came a statement from the Communist Party Central Committee Bureau pledging full, unconditional support for the State Committee for the State of Emergency. The opposition reared its head...

The president immediately took all precautionary measures: He increased the guard on buildings, blocked movement in and out of the Kyrgyz Communist Party Central Committee and the telegraph and television and radio company buildings. The KGB chairman was removed from his post.

In the night of 20-21 August, when infantry fighting vehicles tried to storm the Russian parliament building, President Akayev asked the United Nations and the Japanese Embassy via diplomatic channels for aid in the event of an armed attack on the republic. In his statement and appeal to the people the president assessed what was happening in Moscow as a military-party putsch. At the same time a decree was signed on departyization, which effectively reduced the once ruling party to the level of an ordinary public organization.

In the morning of 21 August the president issued a decree banning all troop formations stationed on the republic's territory from leaving their stationing location without his authorization.

In the evening of 21 August, when it was clear that the threat of a military putsch in the country and the republic had passed, the Kyrgyz Lenin Communist Youth League dissociated itself from its elder "brother" in arms and condemned the anticonstitutional coup.

The republic returned to normal working 22 August. If you do not count the mass exodus from the party—during the crisis 40 leading Kyrgyz KGB personnel left the CPSU. The Ministry of Internal Affairs and Ministry of Justice systems were previously departyized. It is now the turn of the state television and radio broadcasting company, the presidential apparatus, ministries, and departments. Despite insistent requests, Akayev has refused to meet with D. Amanbayev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Kyrgyz Communist Party Central Committee. Incidentally, the republic Prosecutor's Office has instituted criminal proceedings against him and Central Committee secretaries and bureau members for abetting the group of people who organized the coup d'etat in the country. So, all is calm in Bishkek...

Tajikistan

President Issues Departyization Decree

LD2308153491 Moscow TASS in English 1435 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Text] Dushanbe August 23 TASS—Tajik President Kakhar Makhkamov on Friday issued a decree to remove party structures from the republic's law enforcement bodies and the presidential office staff.

The decree terminates activities of the existing structures of political and mass public movements and bans setting up new such structures in the republic's Interior Ministry, the Ministry of Justice, Prosecutor's Office, courts, state arbitration and the presidential office staff.

Trade unions will base their activities on agreements between the administration and working collectives.

Under the decree, people's participation or nonparticipation in political parties and movements cannot be used to restrict their rights, including the right to office, unless envisaged by the Tajik legislation.

Political Work Allowed 'After Hours'

OW2308182091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1652 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Tajikistan's President Kakhar Makhamov issued a decree Friday that bans the activities of the existing and the creation of new organizations of political parties and mass public movements at the Interior Ministry agencies, the Justice Ministry, the Procurator's Office and the Arbitration Court in the territory of the Central Asian republic.

However, the decree allows bureaucrats to continue political work at parties and public movements "after hours and outside state institutions."

Supreme Soviet Chairman on Union Treaty

PM2208140391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Aug 91 Union Edition p 2

[Aleksandr Karpov report on interview with Tajik Supreme Soviet Chairman K.A. Aslonov in Dushanbe under the "Direct Line" rubric; date not given: "Watching Over the Interests of All Peoples"]

[Text] Dushanbe—In a conversation with IZVESTIYA's correspondent, Tajik Supreme Soviet Chairman K.A. Aslonov stated:

"Chaos has firmly gripped all spheres of life. For a long time we have been dealing in intrigue rather than politics, talking about democracy while in fact we were leading the state toward disintegration.

"Literally on the eve of the event, leaders of the republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan met in Tashkent. This discussion arose through the force of circumstance. It became a sort of reflection of the chaos in which we have lived over recent years. It was necessary to work out the principles for future joint action from the standpoint of important regional problems. We reached agreement on cooperation, mutual assistance, and contract deliveries which, in the conditions of an ailing economy, are particularly important for us all.

"The Tajik leadership agreed to sign the Union treaty, without being entirely satisfied with the results of the discussion of the draft document. Unfortunately, a whole range of observations, proposals, and amendments which are vital for us were not taken into consideration. But it is quite obvious that a normal life is totally unimaginable unless we preserve the integrity of the Union of sovereign states. And I am convinced of the need to think even more thoroughly and more open-mindedly and objectively about the principles of our future life in order that the interests of all our country's peoples are taken into account."

Turkmenia

President Niyazov Quits CPSU Politburo

PM2708103791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Aug 91 Union Edition p 3

[V. Kuleshov report under "Seven Days On" rubric: "Turkmen Communist Party Will Leave CPSU"]

[Text] An emergency joint session of the Presidential Council, the Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the republic Communist Party Central Committee Bureau has been held in Ashkhabad to discuss urgent questions connected with the further independent activity of Turkmenistan's political and state organs in the present situation.

After making an assessment of the reactionary forces which supported the participants in the conspiracy in Moscow and a number of parts of the country and familiarizing those assembled with the latest decrees of M. Gorbachev, the country's president, and with his statement proposing to disband the CPSU, Turkmen President S. Niyazov declared that he could not continue as a member of the present CPSU Central Committee Politburo, at the same time emphasizing that in connection with the events at the center and in certain parts of the country the republic party organization must undergo structural changes and decide for itself the chief question of withdrawal from the CPSU and the Communist Party's disbandment or renaming. "We need a party not such as it is today but a strong, active party consisting of committed, militant people," Niyazov emphasized. "But the majority of party leaders today are only capable of ordering economic planners about, holding meetings at production facilities which are of no use to anyone, and sleeping in their offices. Such a party gives us nothing..."

Uzbekistan

President Resigns From CPSU Politburo

PM2608132391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Aug 91 Union Edition p 4

[Correspondent A. Orlov report under the general heading "Wave of Change Rises"]

[Text] Tashkent—Uzbek President I. Karimov, first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party [as published], has said that he cannot remain on the current CPSU Central Committee Politburo.

The first secretary's statement was backed by the Central Committee Bureau and the Uzbek Communist Party Central Control Commission Presidium. They resolutely condemned the cowardly unprincipled stance taken by the orthodox section of the CPSU Central Committee leadership and its Politburo and Secretariat, which expressed no attitude to the anticonstitutional actions taken by the so-called State Committee for the State of Emergency, which forcibly barred the legally elected USSR President M.S. Gorbachev from performing his duties and isolated the general secretary of the Central Committee from the CPSU.

Instead of this, the Central Committee Bureau and Uzbek Communist Party Central Control Commission Presidium statement stresses, an attempt was made to disorient the republic's Communists and local party organs and provoke them to back the coup d'etat.

Does this mean that the Uzbek Communist Party is leaving the CPSU? That opportunity does exist not only morally but also in law—after all, the republic's Communist Party has its own program and rules and is registered with organs of justice, which means that it is entitled to determine its future autonomously, independently of the center. The republic's Communists may decide the issue of withdrawing from the CPSU at the impending congress.

Party Supports Resignation

LD2308083391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0645 GMT 23 Aug 91

[By Vladimir Pruger]

[Text] Tashkent, 23 Aug (TASS)—The Bureau and Presidium of the Central Control Commission of the Uzbekistan Communist Party (Soviet Central Asian republic) have supported the decision of Islam Karimov, president of the republic and first secretary of the party Central Committee, to leave the CPSU Central Committee Politburo. As the statement published today says, this was caused by the cowardly and unprincipled position of the orthodox part of the leadership of the CPSU Central Committee and Secretariat who failed to express in a timely manner their attitude toward the anticonstitutional actions of the so-called State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR.

"Instead, an attempt at disorienting the republican communists' local party bodies and provoking them to give support to the coup d'etat was made. The actions of the orthodox leadership of the Politburo and Secretariat of the CPSU Central Committee exposed the honor and dignity of both the party in general and hundreds of thousands of communists to a blow," the statement says. "In the situation that emerged, the Uzbekistan communists did not give in to the provocation of political adventurists and did everything to ensure a stable and calm situation in the republic."

The statement stresses that the Uzbekistan Communist Party has its program and rules, is registered by a lawful procedure, and thus reserves the right to examine all the issues arising from the situation that has developed.

Party To Consider Break With CPSU

OW2608210891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2000 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Presidium of the Uzbek Communist Party's Central Control Commission (CCC) decided at an enlarged meeting in Tashkent on Monday to convene a joint plenary session of the party's Central Committee and CCC on August 28 to consider breaking completely with the CPSU Central Committee, leaving all the CPSU institutions and recalling Uzbek communists from all elected bodies of the CPSU.

The plenum is to hear reports about preparations for the Uzbek Communist Party's 23d congress which should consider changing the party's name, as well as introducing fundamental changes into the party program, rules and forms and methods of its public activity.

President Signs Decree Strengthening Sovereignty

LD2608083491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0710 GMT 26 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Pruger]

[Text] Tashkent, 26 Aug (Tass)—Uzbek President Islam Karimov signed a decree on 25 August providing for a number of measures to strengthen the sovereignty of this Soviet Central Asian republic. The republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium was charged with preparing a draft law on the state independence of Uzbekistan as soon as possible. It is planned to examine this draft law at an extraordinary session of the republic's parliament.

The decree provides for the transfer of the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] and Committee for State Security structures operating on the territory of Uzbekistan to the republic's jurisdiction. The heads of these departments have been charged with reviewing the status and position of the ministry of internal affairs and committee of state security bodies within a two-week deadline, taking into consideration, above all, the protection of the security and interests of Uzbekistan and its citizens.

The decree establishes that the USSR MVD troops stationed on the republic's territory are resubordinated directly to the Uzbek president.

The presidential decree also provides for the carrying out of the departyization of all the bodies of the MVD, Committee for State Security, and procuracy, as well as of the internal troops and army units and formations located on Uzbek territory.

Since the execution of this decree will cause a considerable number of people to vacate their posts, the document provides for resettlement measures.

Further on Decree

LD2508203191 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1900 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Text] Karimov, the president of Uzbekistan, has issued a decree on transferring the bodies of the republican Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] and the KGB to the jurisdiction of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]. At the same time, the internal forces of the USSR MVD present on the territory of Uzbekistan are to be directly subordinated to the president of the republic.

The same decree announces the departyization of the MVD, KGB, the procurator's office, and bodies of justice, as well as the internal forces, units, and combined units of the Turkestan Military District, which are located on the territory of the republic. From now on, the creation of new organizational structures, political parties, and movements are not allowed in the aforementioned bodies and institutions.

The Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has been instructed to prepare without delay a draft law on the state independence of the republic and to put it forward for discussion by an (?extraordinary) session of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet.

Democratic Party Rally Favors Independence

LD2508183391 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1600 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Text] Delegates at a rally of the Democratic Party of Uzbekistan Erk—freedom, which was held in Tashkent today, spoke in favor of real independence of Uzbekistan. The poet Mukhammad Solikh, chairman of the party, informed our correspondent that he had already sent a telegram on 20 August to Boris Yeltsin which denounced the antidemocratic coup and supported the decisive actions taken by the president of Russia. The participants in the rally demanded the immediate convening of the Supreme Soviet of Uzbekistan.

Karimov Speaks With Gorbachev on Telephone

LD2208140691 Tashkent Radio Tashkent Network in Uzbek 0200 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] Last night on 21 August Uzbek President I.A. Karimov held a telephone conversation with USSR President M.S.Gorbachev, who is now in Crimea. M.S. Gorbachev expressed sincere gratitude for the firmness and determination shown by the people of the republic during the difficult situation in the country and for not being deceived by the [word indistinct] calls. He stressed the honorable way in which the [word indistinct] and determined people of Uzbekistan coped (?under) the difficult (?situation).

The USSR president again stated that the path taken toward democratic reforms and the sovereignty of the republics is the right path. He also spoke about [word indistinct] possibilities for raising the living standard of the people of the Soviet Union.

Mikhail Sergeyevich again stressed the need to sign the Union treaty which is in accordance with the (?wishes) and aspirations of the people of the Soviet Union and which will improve the situation in the country.

On his part, Uzbek President I.A. Karimov expressed his gratitude to Mikhail Sergeyevich for his sincere wishes for the Uzbek people and suggested that (?all) the current difficulties should be removed and that the norms of the constitution and legality are being observed.

Leadership Opposes 'Use of Force in Peacetime'

PM2308090791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Aug 91 Union Edition p 2

[By V. Orlov under the general heading: "These Alarming Days"]

[Text] Tashkent—Uzbek President I. Karimov, first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, has appealed to the republic's population.

Even during the perestroyka period, the Uzbek republic and its leadership have never acted on orders from elsewhere, the Uzbek president noted. We pursue our own policy, without losing our originality, and will remain true to this policy in the future.

The republic's president urged all citizens of Uzbekistan to keep calm, preserve order, and be restrained and tolerant.

The Uzbek SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Uzbek president's Cabinet of Ministers adopted a statement at a joint sitting analyzing the current situation.

"We oppose the use of force in peacetime, above all military force, to resolve disagreements between various social and political groups," the statement says. "We believe that our appeal for social accord, discipline, and stability will meet with understanding from all strata of the republic's population."

It has been deemed expedient to form a republic commission to coordinate the work of organs of executive power and management.

The republic newspapers have published all documents adopted by the Soviet leadership in connection with the change in the political situation. They are being discussed by labor collectives. All enterprises are operational.